A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

OUR CHRISTIAN HERITAGE

THE AMBASSADOR OF CHRIST

DISCOURSES AND SERMONS

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A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS

BY

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

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AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

TO THE

Right Reverend Rector

The Faculty

AND THE

Benefactors

OF THE

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

The following selections from my essays and sermons published in two separate volumes, have been put together, in the first place because I thought that some of them might be valuable for the history of the many years through which it has pleased God to spare my life. I have lived a long time, and I have lived through a very critical time. Not only have I held office many years, but I have held office during a time of transition, when the old order was changed.

The few survivors among my colleagues in the Episcopate can remember these strenuous times; but in some of the Articles, notably the two on the Vatican Council, I am speaking for a generation, which with the exception of myself, has passed away. I am the last living Father of the Vatican Council. Now, alone upon this earth, I can report what happened within those sacred walls—not by hearsay, nor from books, but from what I actually saw and heard. For this reason I have not only included one Paper on the Vatican Council, but I have published the diary which years ago was sent to "The Catholic World," and I have supplemented it with a short introduction explaining the events which took place after the

last installment of my diary had been sent to them.

It was just at the time when I was made a Cardinal by Pope Leo XIII that the rise of the Labor Unions in America brought about what might have been a crisis in the life of the American Church. For some years the Church stood at the crossroads. It had to choose between allying itself with what looked like elements of disaster and revolution, or consenting to a theory of economics which could not be justified upon Christian principles. The duty had been laid upon it of preserving society, the rights of property and at the same time protecting the rights of individuals to the fruits of their labors; also of protecting the poor from the encroachment of uncontrolled capital.

The second contribution of this volume represents what I believed at the time to be the only possible course for the Church to take. Amid how many fears such a course was taken nobody now can realize since Leo XIII has settled forever in his wonderful encyclical "*Rerum Novarum*" the principles of economics which are alone consonant with the Gospel. It seemed as if in taking the course which some of us took, and which is represented by the document which I presented to the Holy See, we were destroying the Church's reputation for conservatism as well as her usefulness as a conserver of society; that we Bishops of the Church of God were making of ourselves demagogues and the harbingers of the "Red Revolution."

Each of the other Essays refers to subjects of vital importance and interest to the material,

political and moral welfare of the American people, and I have included them because it may not be uninteresting to the rising generation to know what was thought on these subjects by one who, after the service of God, has desired nothing so much as to serve his country.

There are few Americans living now who can remember the things which I can. I followed Mr. Lincoln's dead body in procession when it was brought to this city; I have seen every president since his death, and have known most of them personally; I was a grown man and a priest during the Civil War when it seemed as if our country were to be permanently divided. Very few people now living have seen the country in such distress as I have seen it. But I have lived, thank God, to see it in wonderful prosperity and to behold it grown into one of the great powers of the earth. Younger men may tremble for the future of this country, but I can have nothing but hope when I think what we have already passed through, for I can see no troubles in the future which could equal, much less surpass, those which have afflicted us in bygone days. If only the American people will hold fast to that instrument which has been bequeathed to them as the palladium of their liberties—the Constitution of the United States,—and fear and distrust the man who would touch that ark with profane hands, the permanence of our institutions is assured.

In my time I have seen multitudes of Europeans seeking this shore in search of liberty and hope.

The men who were middle aged when I was young, doubted and feared whereunto this might grow; but I have seen men of foreign birth become one with us, and I think it no more than justice that I should call the attention of my countrymen to the reason. The same power which welded the Latin, Gaul, Frank, Briton and Norman into the Nation of France; which welded the Briton, Saxon, Dane and Norman into the Nation of England, has been present among us and has again exercised its benign influence in welding divers' races into one people: That power is the Catholic Church. If there do not now lie over against each other in this country hostile nationalities with different languages, different points of view and different aspirations, it is because those who have come to us, whatever may have been their nationality, have for the most part had one common, characteristic—they have been Catholic Christians.

When I was young, men feared the Catholic Church because they thought her foreign and un-American. Yet I have lived to see their children and their children's children acknowledge that if the different nations which have come to our shores have been united into one people, and if today there is an American people it is largely owing to the cohesive and consolidating influence of the christian religion of our ancestors.

But again, many men once amongst us feared the Catholic Church because they thought her opposed to liberty, yet if they had read history, even superficially, they would have known that no liberty which they possessed has come to them ex-

cept through the agency of that Religion which molded our barbarian ancestors into the civilized nations of Europe. But for her there would have been no civilization today, and without civilization there could have been no liberty.

Nor has the Church affected those only who have come to these shores and brought them into contact with American ideals. She has attracted to her communion multitudes of the native born, as she does wherever she is free to preach the Gospel; for she cannot speak to any man or woman of European descent without awakening in his or her mind the echoes of the faith of our fathers; for that is the faith the Church teaches. Her faith is the faith of the fathers, not alone of the immigrants, but also of the native born. For centuries all our fathers were born to her in Holy Baptism and died in her bosom.

I have included in this collection not only essays, but many sermons. I have selected those sermons which I believed would be most helpful to my countrymen when I am gone. Most of these discourses marked great anniversaries in the life of the American Church; but in others the aim has been simply to state the plain truths of the Gospel so that "he who runs may read." In the last sermons included in this book—those on the Saints and on The Life to Come—I have tried to give expression to that hope, without which this earth would be but a desert and the future but the blackness of despair.

My countrymen and my fellow Catholics will forgive me if I seem to yearn over this Church and

people, but I do so because I believe both the American Church and the American people to be precious in the sight of God, and designed, each one in its proper sphere, for a glorious future.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Introduction	ix-xiv
Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council	1- 29
Preface to Extracts From My Diary During Vatican Council	30- 33
The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter I	34- 63
The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter II	64- 72
The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter III	73- 95
The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter IV	96-139
The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter V	140-168

The First Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, Chapter VI 169-185

The Knights of Labor 186-209

The Church and the Republic 210-234

The Claims of the Catholic Church in the Making of the Republic . . . 235-264

Irish Immigration to the United States 265-283

Lynch Law 284-296

Patriotism and Politics 297-320

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. *

OF the Fathers who attended the Vatican Council, very few are now alive. Indeed, only those who were among the younger Bishops, as I was myself the youngest, can speak from personal experience of the events which took place during this memorable meeting of the Shepherds of Christendom.

Although my youth imposed upon me a discreet silence among my elders, so keen was my appreciation of my good fortune at being present among these venerable men that I cannot remember to have missed a single session, and I was a most attentive listener at all the debates.

The Council was held in the right transept of St. Peter's Basilica, which was partitioned off and suitably furnished with all the requirements for a deliberative body. Pope Pius IX presided in person at the opening, as well as at all the solemn sessions, and a bench of five Cardinals presided at the business sessions, or general congregations. At the close of the first selemn session the Prelates passed out from the council

* This article on the Vatican Council was originally contributed by me to *The North American Review*, in 1894.

chamber into St. Peter's Church, and mingled with the crowd of some 50,000 spectators. In advancing toward the front door of St. Peter's I became separated from Archbishop Spalding, who always favored me with a seat in his carriage. I was as much bewildered as a stranger would be in a London fog, and as I was utterly unacquainted with the surroundings, I did not attempt to find my way to the carriage, which was awaiting us in one of the many court yards of the Vatican. The rain was pouring down in torrents, a carriage could not be secured at any price, and, encumbered as I was with the *impedimenta* of cope and mitre, a journey on foot to the American College, a mile or more away was out of the question. I applied in vain to the occupants of several carriages, but all the seats were engaged. At last, when it was growing dark, a solitary carriage remained on the piazza, occupied by a Bishop. It was my last chance. I requested him to give me a seat, and explained my helpless condition, speaking to him in French, as that was the most popular language among the Prelates. The Bishop looked at me with a good-humored smile, which seemed to say: "I think you understand English quite as well as French." And then he replied to me in English: "The carriage, my lord, is engaged for five of us, but we cannot leave you stranded. We must make room for you." Rarely did our English tongue sound so sweet in my ears, and seldom was an act of kindness more gratefully accepted. My good Samar-

itan proved to be a Bishop from the wilds of Australia.

When the Council was convened in Rome, December 8, 1869, the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, resident and titular, numbered about 1,200. At an early stage of the Council, the number of prelates in attendance was 737. Europe was represented by 514 Prelates, North and South America by 113, Asia by 83, Africa by 14, and Oceania by 13 Bishops.

Every continent, every island of importance, every nation on the face of the globe, except Russia, was represented by its hierarchy. The Bishops, kneeling together around the altar in the council chamber, could exclaim with truth in the language of the Apocalypse: "Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord, to God in Thy blood out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation."

No Prelates attracted more general attention than the venerable Patriarchs and Bishops of the East. I may here observe that the Oriental Christians comprise two classes—the schismatics, who separated from the Catholic Church chiefly in the fourth, fifth and ninth centuries, and are not now in communion with the See of Rome, and the orthodox Christians, who acknowledge the judicial supremacy of the Pope. Only the latter had representatives at the Council, though the former had also been invited by Pius IX, but they chose to decline. These venerable Prelates had nothing in common with their Western colleagues except their faith. Their peculiar rites and ceremonies, their liturgical and popular lan-

guage, their dress and long-flowing beards, stamped them with a personality of their own. Some of them recalled to mind the Patriarchs of old, of whom we read in the Sacred Scriptures; and they might sit for a Moses or an Aaron. The Eastern Christians in communion with the Holy See are divided into the following rites: 1. The Greek Rite, itself subdivided into pure Greek, Italo-Greek, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Ruthenian and Melchite Greek; 2. The Chaldean Rite; 3. The Syrian Rite; 4. The Syro-Marionite; 5. The Syro-Malabar; 6. The Coptic, subdivided into Coptic proper and Coptic-Ethiopian.

These Orientals came from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the cradle of the human family; from the banks of the Jordan, the cradle of Christianity; from the banks of the Nile, the home of the oldest historic civilization. They came from Chaldea, from the lands of the Medes, the Persians and the Abyssinians; from Mossul, built near the site of ancient Nineveh, and from Bagdad, founded not far from the ruins of Babylon. They assembled from Damascus and Mount Libanus, and from the Holy Land, sanctified by the footprints of our Blessed Redeemer. What a spectacle they presented; what reverence they excited! Unchangeable as the hills and valleys of their native soil, they wore the same turban, and the same pale and thoughtful countenance that their fathers wore in the time of John the Baptist; they exhibited the same simplicity of manners that Abraham did nearly four thousand

years ago, when he fed his flocks in the valley of Mambre and gave hospitality to angels.

The Vatican Council incidentally affords us a most striking and gratifying evidence of the growth of our language among the nations of the earth during the last three centuries, and of the corresponding expansion of the Catholic religion throughout the English-speaking world. We can form a just estimate of this increase by comparing the number of English-speaking Bishops who attended the Vatican Council with the number of the same tongue at the Council of Trent, which assembled three hundred and fifty years ago. At the Council of Trent the whole continent of America was without a single representative, having been discovered only fifty years before. Oceania was then a *terra incognita.* There was no Bishop from Scotland. England sent one Prelate and Ireland three to that Council. There were, consequently, only four English-speaking representatives at the Tridentine Synod.

At the Vatican Council there was an English Episcopate numbering upwards of one hundred and twenty members. Prelates speaking our tongue assembled in Rome from England, Ireland, and Scotland, from the United States and Canada, from Oceania, the East Indies, and Africa.

Daniel Webster, in one of his speeches in the United States Senate, speaks of England as—

> "A power which has dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

We may not less confidently affirm that wherever floats the British or the American flag, aye, wherever the English language is spoken, there also is raised aloft the banner of salvation; and there, too, is announced in our own noble and familiar tongue the Gospel of peace and reconciliation. And I venture to hazard the prediction that at the next Ecumenical Council, if held within a hundred years, the representatives of the English language will equal, if they do not surpass, in number those of any other tongue.

The question naturally occurs to the reader: What language was the medium of communication among so large and heterogeneous an assemblage speaking different tongues? I answer that the Latin was the official language of the Council.

A few words may not be out of place here explaining why the Latin is employed in the Liturgy of the Western Church, and why it was exclusively used in the debates of the Vatican Council. When Christianity was established, Rome was mistress of the civilized world. Wherever the Roman standard was planted there also spread the Roman tongue, just as the English language is now diffused wherever the authority of Great Britain or of the United States holds sway. The Church adopted in her public worship the language that she found prevailing among the people. And she has very wisely preserved it in her Liturgy, even after it had ceased to be a vulgar tongue, as a dead language is not subject to the gradual changes of meaning which occur in a living tongue. The jewel of faith is

best preserved in the casket of an unalterable language.

In like manner we can easily perceive the utility, I might say the absolute necessity, of the Latin tongue in the deliberations of the Council. Had the Bishops no uniform medium to express their sentiments, the Council would have degenerated into a Babel of tongues. Public debate would have been impracticable, even familiar conversation during the intervals of recess between the speeches would have been impossible to a great many, for the Bishops' seats were arranged, not by nationality, but by seniority of rank. But, thanks to the Latin language, which all but a few Orientals understood, each Bishop comprehended the discourses almost as clearly as if they had been spoken in his native tongue.

While the speeches of all the Bishops were intelligible to the hearers, an attentive listener could usually detect to what family of nations the orator belonged. He could tell whether the speaker was a Spaniard, a Frenchman, an Italian, a German, or a Prelate of the English-speaking world almost as readily as an Englishman can distinguish a Scotchman from a Cockney or a Yorkshireman. The pronunciation or accentuation of certain words, the guttural sound or the soft cadence was the shibboleth that revealed the nationality of the speaker. Sometimes a pleasant smile would play on the habitually grave countenance of an Italian Cardinal while listening to the language of Cicero uttered with inflection and pronunciation unfamiliar to his ears. The accom-

plished Bishop of Geneva began a speech with a graceful apology for his French accent: "My voice, Most Reverend Fathers, is French, but my heart is Roman."*

So much for the language. Let us now look more closely at the men. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the Council of the Vatican has been excelled by few, if any, deliberative assemblies, civil or ecclesiastical, that have ever met, whether we consider the *maturity* of years of its members, their *learning,* their *experience* and *piety,* or the widespread influence of the Decrees that they framed for the spiritual and moral welfare of the Christian Republic.

The youngest Bishop in the Council was thirty-six years old. Fully three-fourths of the Prelates ranged between fifty-six and ninety years. The great majority, therefore, had grown gray in the service of their Divine Master. Several Fathers of the Church, bent with age, might be seen passing through St. Peter's Basilica to the council-chamber every morning, leaning with one hand on their staff, the other resting on the shoulder of their secretary. One or two blind Bishops could be observed, guided by their servants, as they advanced to their posts with tottering steps, determined to aid the Church in their declining years by the wisdom of their counsel, as they had consecrated to her their vigorous manhood by their Apostolic labors. Several Prelates were so much enfeebled by years and infirmities, and so

* Alloquor vos, Reverendissimi Patres, Gallico sermone, sed Romano corde.

exhausted by travel, that they died martyrs to obedience and duty on their way to the Council; several others expired in the city or while returning to their dioceses.

But to the gravity of years, the members of the Council generally united profound and varied learning. From their youth they had drunk at the fountain of knowledge, and particularly at that of sacred science. There was not a single civilized language, scarcely even a tribal dialect in vogue among any people or race, that was not understood and spoken by some Prelate in that assembly. Every Bishop was familiar with at least two or three languages, and some of them were capable of speaking from eight to twelve. The Primate of Hungary informed me that he employed four different tongues in the administration of his vast diocese of a million souls, corresponding in Latin with his clergy, and addressing his mixed congregations in the Hungarian, German, and Sclavonian languages. A Vicar Apostolic from China, who sat next to me, said that he was obliged to use six different Chinese dialects in his Vicariate.

Where else could be found a single assembly capable of discoursing in all languages under the sun. Was not this spectacle suggestive of the Pentecostal miracle? And well might the spectators exclaim: "Behold, are not all these who speak Galileans (or, at least, disciples of the Divine Galilean), and how have we every one heard our own tongue wherein we were born? Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and inhabitants

of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Egypt, and strangers of Rome, Proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians—we have heard them all speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God."

They were men, too, of world-wide experience and close observation. Each Bishop brought with him an intimate knowledge of the history of his country and of the religious, moral, social, and political condition of the people among whom he lived. One could learn more from an hour's interview with this living encyclopædia of divines, who were a world in miniature, than from a week's study of books. An earnest and attentive conversation with these keen-sighted churchmen on the social and religious progress of their respective countries was as much more instructive and delightful than the reading of books, as a personal view of magnificent scenery would be in comparison with a description of it in the pages of an illustrated review. The living words left an indelible impress on the heart and memory.

And while I admired their learning and experience, I could not but venerate their apostolic virtues. The great majority of the Prelates were venerable, both by their years and by that which they had accomplished in the service of Almighty God, for many of them had endured trials and hardships. Some were exiles from their Sees for conscience' sake; others were the successors of martyrs, and were destined themselves to wear a martyr's crown. By the enforcement of the Falk laws, or Kulturkampf, in Prussia after the Coun-

cil, Archbishop Melchers, of Cologne, afterwards a Cardinal, was expelled from his See. By the same laws, Archbishop Ledochowski, of Gnesen-Posen, in Prussian Poland, afterwards the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, was imprisoned for two years. St. Chrysostom says that Paul raised to the third heavens was an object delightful to contemplate, but the Paul buried in a Roman dungeon was still more worthy of our admiration. May we not add that Ledochowski was a conspicuous figure in the Council, but he was still more admired in a Prussian prison?

But of all the Bishops assembled under St. Peter's dome none excited more sympathy and admiration than the Prelates from China and Corea, where persecution periodically breaks out. To them might be literally applied the words of the Apostle: "In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, perils of robbers, perils from the Gentiles, perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils in the sea. In labor and distress, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

When traveling from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia by the Mediterranean, on my way to the Council, I happened to get acquainted with a Chinese Bishop. The expression of his pale and thoughtful countenance, with a blending of melancholy and sweetness, can never be effaced from my memory. His was a face that told you at once of sufferings, privations, and fortitude. He remarked to me on the steamer: "I am glad that my journey is near its end, for

when I reach Rome I shall have traveled 23,000 miles." He had worked his way for weeks in a zig-zag direction through the interior of China till he arrived at the Yang-tse-Kiang, down which he sailed to the mouth, thence made a circuitous voyage to a French port, and finally proceeded from Marseilles to Rome.

Another Bishop, Monseigneur Ridel, was also an object of sympathetic interest. Three of his predecessors in the Episcopate besides several missionary priests had died martyrs to Christianity in Corea, two other Bishops of that country perished from hunger and exposure, and the Bishop himself, after returning to Corea, was confined in an infected prison for five months, and was saved from a cruel death only by the intervention of the French minister.

Whatever may be a man's religious faith, his heart will swell with emotion when he contemplates a young levite leaving his native land, his family and kindred, and voluntarily exiling himself in a distant country to preach the Gospel to an unfriendly and a hostile people, adapting himself to their habits and diet, daily carrying his life in his hands and finally succumbing to disease, or to the stroke of the executioner. With very few exceptions, these priests, after touching Chinese or Corean soil, never return to their native country. The words of Dante may well be applied to them—"All hope abandon ye who enter here."

What heroism is more sublime than this? It is a heroism not culled from the musty pages of

ancient hagiology, but occurring in our own days; a heroism not aroused by the sound of martial music, or the clash of arms in the battlefied, or by the emulation of comrades, or the lust for fame or territory; but a heroism inspired by their love for God and their fellow-beings.

Let us now enter the council-chamber for a few moments and observe the bearing of the Fathers toward each other, as well as the leading features of the debates, and then let us note a few of the prominent speakers who took part in the discussions. The conduct of the Bishops toward each other was marked by mutual esteem and by good temper that was rarely ruffled even when the most burning questions were deliberated. The most ample liberty of discussion prevailed in the Council. This freedom the Holy Father pledged at the opening of the synod, and the pledge was religiously kept. I can safely say that neither in the British House of Commons, nor in the French Chambers, nor in the German Reichstag, nor in our American Congress would a wider liberty of debate be tolerated than was granted in the Vatican Council. The presiding Cardinal exhibited a courtesy of manner and a forebearance even in the heat of debate that was worthy of all praise. I do not think that he called a speaker to order more than a dozen times during the eighty-nine sessions, and then only in deference to the dissenting murmurs or demands of some Bishops.

A Prelate representing the smallest diocese had the same rights that were accorded to the

highest dignitary in the Chamber. There was no limit prescribed as to the length of the speeches. We may judge of the wide scope of discussion from the single fact that the debate on the Infallibility of the Pope lasted two months, occupying twenty-five sessions, and was participated in by one hundred and twenty-five Prelates, not counting one hundred others who handed in written observations. No stone was left unturned, no text of Sacred Scripture, no passage in the writings of the Fathers, no page of Ecclesiastical History bearing on the subject, no voice of tradition escaped the vigilant investigations of the Bishops, so that the whole truth of God might be brought to light.

It is true that, toward the end of the Council, with the view of saving much precious time without prejudice to the freedom of discussion, the original rules were so modified that, on a petition of ten Fathers, the President could propose and the majority could decide to close the debate.

I well remember how, during and after the Council, a good many writers in the public press affected to be shocked and filled with virtuous indignation that there should be any outburst of feeling or even any display of parliamentary contention in a Council of Catholic Bishops. With the Mantuan poet, they exclaimed:

"Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?"

Had the deliberations been carried on in a humdrum style, without criticism or opposition on the part of the minority, the outcry against the Council would have been all the louder. Then it

would be charged, with a fair show of reason, that there was no spirit or manhood among the Fathers; that they were so many figureheads ready to bow at the nod of the Pope. The Bishops were men with human feelings. They were freemen fettered by no compact, bound by no caucus, filled with a profound sense of responsibility to God and their consciences. They were discussing questions, not of a political or transitory nature, but questions of faith and morals, which would not only influence the external conduct, but control the internal assent of themselves and of the faithful committed to their charge. As judges of faith, it was their right, as well as their duty, to examine the sacred records before registering their vote, just as the judges of the Supreme Court examine the statute and common law before rendering a decision. If they had unanimously agreed on all the great questions under consideration without any diversity of sentiment or conflict of words, they would have exhibited a spectacle unparalleled in the annals of civil or ecclesiastical legislation. The history of every great Council of the Church has been marked by intense earnestness of debate. There was not only discussion, but "much disputing" in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem. There were scenes of controversy, not to say of commotion, in the Ecumenical Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople and Trent. Yet such incidents of verbal strife did not impair the dignity nor lessen the authority of these memorable conventions.

It may be of interest here to parallel the late

Council with the first Ecumenical Council held at Nice in the year 325. The number of Bishops in attendance at the Vatican Council was more than double, but the outer circumstances of the Council were much the same. In 325 the Peace of the Church had just been obtained and it depended at that time wholly upon the life of one man—the Emperor Constantine—who was himself not yet baptized, as indeed he was not until just before his death. The political atmosphere, therefore, was as much charged with electricity in the year 325 as it was in the year 1870, and society was in a very unstable equilibrium. Just as the Peace of the Church apparently depended upon the life of one man, and he an Emperor, in 325, so in 1870 the peace of the Church again apparently depended upon the life of one man, and he an Emperor—Napoleon III.

Constantine had just freed the Pope, Saint Sylvester, from the greatest danger and had assured to him the liberty of the Apostolic See. And in 1870 Napoleon III was protecting the Apostolic See from the spoliation of its temporal dominions upon which its liberty of action then depended, or at least seemed to depend.

In 325 the Church had just emerged from the most terrible of the persecutions—that of Diocletian—and it was far from certain that she would not have to face a far more serious persecution if the Emperor Constantine should die. In 1870 the Church was just emerging from the conditions engendered by the Penal Laws in England, and the French Revolution on the Continent, and the pos-

sibility of a persecution which actually took place during the Kulturkampf seemed by no means remote.

But the likeness of these two councils—the first and the last—is not merely in their external circumstances, but the way in which the Fathers arranged themselves in both Councils, on two sides, is exactly parallel.

The question to be decided by the Council of Nice was whether our Lord Jesus Christ was the Son of God by nature or whether He was a creature—the brightest of the archangels, if you will, but still a creature. As everyone who is the least acquainted with Ecclesiastical history is aware, there was no doubt in the minds of the Fathers on this point. All of them had received by tradition from their predecessors and the Holy Apostles that our Lord Jesus Christ was True God of True God. The outright Arians could have been counted on one hand.

In order to protect this universal teaching of the Church it was thought necessary to declare that our Lord was consubstantial with His Father, and here a large number of Bishops proved themselves Inopportunists. They did not doubt the truth of the statement but they thought the word "consubsantial" equivocal and likely to give a false impression, and they were afraid that as a result, the Arians might be able to bring about a schism. Nevertheless, apparently with very little feeling for the scruples of these men, the actual word "consubstantial" was inserted in the Decree, although the same object could have been attained,

as Cardinal Newman has told us, by defining the Co-eternity of the Word, to which nobody but the outright Arians would have had the slightest objection. The result was fifty-five years of disturbance, controversy and misunderstanding. *

The Inopportunist Bishops returned home, not doubting the truth of the definition, but disliking the phrases in which it had been defined, and feeling sore at the manner in which the proceedings had been carried on. The learned Bishops, for instance, of Asia Minor and Cappadocia, felt that they had been rather roughly handled by the Alexandrian party who represented the extreme of orthodoxy. And this feeling was not lessened by the fact that the Archbishop of Alexandria had allowed his secretary, a mere Deacon of 27 years of age, to monopolize a considerable portion of the debate. This Deacon was Saint Athanasius, and many of the venerable Bishops of the East never got over the unpleasant impression of what they considered his youthful presumption, although as Saint Athanasius' life of persecution and suffering afterwards proved, it was only his burning zeal and the necessity of the hour which had forced him to the front.

* Whether Our Lord's Divinity could have been defined as Cardinal Newman thought is, of course, an open question. Might there not have been danger of Tritheism? We are speaking here of the Council of Nice from the few fragments which have come down to us. If we had the acts perhaps we should see that the Orientals had not as much cause for complaint as they thought. But from what we know of the Council of Nice as compared with the Vatican Council a far better argument could have been constructed by the Arians against the Council of Nice than the enemies of Papal Infallibility can bring against the Vatican Council.

So at the Vatican Council there were a number of Bishops, and a large number—indeed they were an overwhelming majority, who thought the definition necessary. Nor was there any Bishop in the Council who doubted that the Holy Father was the Doctor and Teacher of all Christians and the center of Unity, so that to lose his communion was to lose the communion of the Church of Christ. For, this they had received by tradition from their predecessors. I say there was not one who doubted this, for the Arius of this controversy of 1870—Dr. Döllinger—was not present at the Council. But among this number of Bishops there were, on one hand, a few who would have pressed for an extreme definition. They wished to define a strictly personal rather than an official Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff; and on the other hand there was a very small number, indeed in the last event it proved that there were only two Bishops, who could not see that an infallible teaching office was the inevitable consequence of the teaching concerning the Roman Pontiff, which they had received from their predecessors, and which, as Catholics, they were bound to hand on to their successors.

But there was undoubtedly a considerable body of Bishops—some eighty in fact—who, like the Oriental Bishops of the Council of Nice, doubted the opportuneness of the definition. They vehemently opposed the use of any extreme phrases and they were most urgent in putting before the Fathers of Council the difficulties which would ensue upon the definition; the probable misunderstandings of

the Dogma, and the possible schisms which might follow. But how different was their treatment from that with which the Oriental Bishops were treated at the Council of Nice! Their arguments were heard with the greatest patience. Every one of their objections was answered, not merely in the debates of the Council, but in that explanation which was attached to the Decree concerning the way in which the Infallible Teaching Office of the Roman Pontiff has been exercised during the long history of the Church. Nothing therefore, can be more untrue than to say that the Fathers of the Council in 1870 were deprived of liberties which were conceded to their predecessors in 325.

I have listened in the Council-chamber to far more subtle, more plausible, and more searching objections against this prerogative of the Pope than I have ever read or heard from the pen or tongue of the most learned and formidable Protestant assailant. But all the objections were triumphantly answered. When the audience in Rhodes listened to Æschines repeating the speeches he had previously delivered against Demosthenes, they applauded *him;* but when they heard the harangue of Demosthenes their plaudits and admiration were redoubled. It was with sentiments like these that the assembled Prelates listened to the advocates of Infallibility after hearing its opponents.

Besides the theological difficulties, there were thinly veiled threats of future hostility to the Church forwarded to Rome by some of the leading governments of Europe if the Decree were

enacted; and some of the Bishops expressed their fears that the definition would be followed by schism in certain countries. Every dispassionate reader, whatever may be his religious convictions, must be profoundly impressed, as I was at the time, with the fearless and serene conduct of the great majority, who, spurning a temporizing policy, the dictate of human prudence, were deterred neither by specious arguments, nor imperial threats, nor by the fear of schism from promulgating what they conceived to be a truth contained in the deposit of divine revelation. Since the last vote was taken in the solemn session of July 18, 1870, all the Bishops of Christendom, without a murmur of dissent, have accepted the decision as final and irrevocable.

In every deliberative body, both civil and religious, there is always found a select number who come to the front and are conspicuous among their compeers by their acquired reputation, their ability, or their eloquence. The Vatican Council was no exception to this rule.

Among the Prelates who took a prominent part in the debates, I shall single out a few who impressed me as recognized leaders in the assembly; though I may say in passing that there were present many silent Solons, like the venerable Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, and the Bishop of Buffalo, whose voice was not heard in the council-hall, but whose influence was felt in the committees.

Cardinal Manning was, unquestionably, the most attractive figure among the Episcopate of

England. His emaciated form and ceaseless activity suggested a playful remark made to him in my hearing by Archbishop Spalding: "I know not how Your Grace can work so much, for you neither eat nor drink nor sleep." He delivered the longest oration in the Council, with one exception, and yet it hardly exceeded an hour and a half, which is evidence of the usual brevity of the speeches. The question is commonly put in America: "How long did he speak?" In Europe they ask: "What did he say?" Cardinal Manning's discourse was a most logical and persuasive argument, and, like all his utterances, was entirely free from rhetorical ornament and from any effort to arouse the feelings or emotions. It was a Scriptural and historical treatise appealing solely to the intellect and honest convictions of his hearers.

Ireland had a distinguished representative in the person of Archbishop Leahy, of Cashel, who was perhaps, the most graceful orator among the English-speaking Prelates. His reply to Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, in the Infallibility debate, was a masterpiece of sound reasoning and of charming declamation tinctured with a delicate flavor of Irish wit.

Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, and Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, were among the most noteworthy Prelates from the United States. Archbishop Spalding was a member of the two most important committees, in which he was busily employed. He delivered but one discourse during the Council. Archbishop Kenrick spoke

Latin with admirable ease and elegance. I observed him day after day reclining in his seat with half-closed eyes, listening attentively to the debates, without taking any notes. And yet so tenacious was his memory that, when his turn came to ascend the rostrum, he reviewed the speeches of his colleagues with remarkable fidelity and precision without the aid of manuscript or memoranda.

Among the many illustrious French Prelates of the Council, Monseigneur Darboy, of Paris, and Monseigneur Dupanloup, of Orleans, held a conspicuous place. Archbishop Darboy was known to enjoy the confidence and to share the sentiments of the Emperor Napoleon on the leading questions discussed in the Council. His heroic and untimely death is still remembered by many. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war, he was arrested and imprisoned as a hostage by the Commune. Mr. Washburne, our Minister to France made strenuous, though fruitless, efforts to save his life. He was cruelly shot in the prison of LaRoquette, May, 1871, and died, his hand uplifted in benediction, and a prayer on his lips for his murderers. That the post of Archbishop of Paris is as hazardous as it is exalted, may be inferred from the fact that Monseigneur Darboy witnessed the assassination of two of his predecessors, Archbishops Affre and Sibour.

Bishop Dupanloup was not only an eminent churchman and a fearless defender of the faith, but also a scholar whose literary attainments had won for him a place among the forty Immortals

in the French Academy. Possessed of indefatigable energy himself, he gave, it is said, but little rest to the clerical members of his household. Among the many searchers after light and peace who sought his counsel may be mentioned the famous Prince Talleyrand, whom he had the consolation of reconciling to the church from which he had long been estranged.

Another notable personage was Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines. His brother Adolphus and himself filled analogous positions in Church and State, the one being Prime Minister, and the other Primate of Belgium. The Cardinal brought with him to Rome the well-merited reputation of a great pulpit orator. His clear and well-modulated voice, his distinct enunciation, his engaging and conciliatory manners and his habit of judiciously emphasizing leading words and phrases, revealed the practiced orator and commanded the unflagging attention of his hearers.

Baron von Ketteler, Bishop of Maynz, was as distinguished a champion in the German Empire as Dupanloup was in France. He was a graduate of the University of Goettingen. His face was disfigured by a scar, the result of a duel fought in his university days. A statement has been made which I could not verify, that the duel was fought with Prince Bismarck. He had practised law for some years before he took orders in the Church. In the Council, von Ketteler was a decided *Inopportunist*, while in Germany he was an earnest advocate of the independence of the Church from the encroachments of the State. Not less

conspicuous in defence of infallibility was Bishop Martin, of Paderhorn.

Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, Primate of Bohemia, and Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary were the two most influential churchmen of the Austrian Empire. The double title of Prince of the Realm and Prince of the Church, which Cardinal Schwarzenberg possessed, was still further ennobled by a commanding presence, handsome features, and the gift of eloquence. He strongly contended against the opportuneness of the Decree of Papal Infallibility, and expressed his apprehension that it might result in a schism in Bohemia, a fear, however, which happily was not realized.

There is this striking analogy between the Republic of the Church and the Republic of the United States, that the son of a peasant is eligible to the highest ecclesiastical preferment, including the Papacy itself, just as the humblest citizen of our country may aspire to the Presidency.

This truth is forcibly illustrated in the career of Cardinal Simor. Unlike his Bohemian colleague, he sprang from the people, and was proud of recording the fact. He was a member of the Upper House in the Hungarian Parliament, and his experience in that Chamber rendered him one of the most ready and effective speakers of the Council. A touching incident of filial reverence and greatness of soul is recounted of Cardinal Simor, which reminds one of the respect that Solomon paid to his mother when he descended from his throne to greet her. On the occasion of the visit of his mother to him in his palace at Gran, he

introduced her to several distinguished personages of the Empire, with every mark of dutiful affection.

In the gravest assembly, an occasional diversion is not unwelcome:

> "A little humor now and then
> Is relished by the best of men."

And the mirth is all the more refreshing when "it is not in the bills," and when its unconscious author is in the most serious mood. One of the Oriental Bishops who did not understand Latin, undertook to deliver a speech. He wrote out his address in his native Arabic, and had it translated into the language of the Council by his Latin secretary. He then read it in a loud monotone, without any regard to accentuation, pronunciation, or punctuation, from beginning to end, without comprehending one word of what he said. And I think that the audience was as much in the dark as the speaker. I am sure, however, that the Bishop was not actuated by the ambition of some Congressmen who, despairing of making an impression on their colleagues, are content to have their speeches printed in the *Congressional Record,* and spread among their constituents where they will do the most good.

I shall close these short sketches by a brief reference to Mgr. Strossmayer, Bishop of Bosnia, who was reputed the most eloquent Prelate of the Council. His name figured conspicuously during and after its proceedings, and he felt obliged to repudiate certain hostile sentiments toward the

Holy See that had been falsely imputed to him. His discourses were always sure to captivate, if they did not convince, his hearers. His periods flowed with the grace and majesty and musical rhythm of a Cicero. By a masterly arrangement of words, which the genius of the Latin tongue allows so much better than our own, he would bring out the strong points of his discourse at the close of each sentence in some well-rounded phrase. Occasionally in the heat of his oration he would wander from his subject into a forbidden field. An expression of disapproval would come from some Bishops, and then the patient President, yielding to the remonstrance, would stretch his hand toward the bell, the ringing of which was the signal that the speaker was out of order. When the Bishop would see the hand in close proximity to the bell, he would dexterously return to his subject, and thus avert the humiliation of an admonition.

If I have made no special mention of the Bishops of Italy and Spain, it is not from any lack of materials, but from lack of space; for I am transcending the limits I had prescribed to myself. Not a few of the Spanish speaking Bishops from South America, as well as from the mother-country, signalized themselves by their ability and eloquence.

Of the College of Cardinals present at the Council, and of whom none survive today, one was afterwards the great Pontiff, Leo XIII. Although Cardinal Pecci did not take part in the public debates of the synod, he was one of its most influ-

ential members, and the weight of his learning and administrative experience was felt in the committee to which he was appointed.

May it not be by a particular design of Providence that he who was to be elected the head and judge of his brethren in 1878 should not have been involved in their disputations in 1870, but that he should enter into his high office, joyfully hailed as the harbinger of peace and concord by Prelates of every shade of theological opinion?

The year 1870 will be ever memorable for two great events—the Vatican Council and the Franco-Prussian war. Let us contrast the pacific gathering of Christian Prelates with the warlike massing of troops which immediately followed on the Continent of Europe. Hosts of armed men were trampling the fair fields of France. The land was reddened with the best blood of two powerful nations The sound of their cannon spread terror throughout the country. Thousands of human victims were sacrificed, and thousands of homes left desolate; and after a lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, the fires that were then kindled are still smouldering, and the animosity engendered by the struggle is not yet allayed.

A council of Bishops assembled in the name and under the invocation of Heaven. They met together, not amid the booming of hostile cannon, but amid *Hosannas* and *Te Deums.* The pursuits of agriculture and commerce were not suspended during their sessions. The Decrees they enacted for the welfare of the Christian commonwealth are in full force today among 230,000,-

000 people; and long after the framers of them shall have passed away, they will continue to exercise a salutary influence on generations yet unborn.

What does this prove? It proves that the pen and the voice are mightier than the sword and the cannon; that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war,"—yea, victories more substantial and enduring. It proves that all schemes fomented by national enmity and a lust for dominion are destined, like the mountain torrent, to spread ruin and desolation along their pathway; while the deliberations of men assembled in the cause of religion, like the Council of Bishops, or in the interests of international peace, like Boards of Arbitration, silently shed their blessings as the gentle dew of heaven, and bring forth fruit in due season.

PREFACE TO EXTRACTS FROM MY DIARY DURING VATICAN COUNCIL

PREFACE TO EXTRACTS FROM MY DIARY DURING VATICAN COUNCIL.

THE following extracts from my diary were sent to The Catholic World during the time of the Vatican Council. But if I remember rightly the last installment was written before the solemn definition of the Dogma, although it was certain that the Dogma would be defined.

In looking over them one might get the idea that the Council was held in great peace and quietness, although I mention in my last installment the fact that some Bishops showed not a little heat in arguing. Still one might not get the impression that the excitement was such as we know it to have been. As a matter of fact, when my notes ended the excitement amidst which the last sessions of the Council were celebrated was only beginning. * The Church had to face a great problem and settle a momentous question. That question was no less than to determine where the seat of Infallibility was: Was it in the Church alone, or in the Pope alone, or in both together?

* The only part of the following chapters written after the actual definition, was the account added to the last chapter of the solemn session of July 18, 1870, in which the dogma was promulgated. This explains why the last chapter is more argumentative than historical.

What relation had the Pope to the Church and the Church to him?

To many people who did not understand the controversy, Papal Infallibility seemed an utterly new departure. There were even a few Bishops in the Council who did not see how plainly it was contained in the deposit of Faith; though it is hard now to see how they could have been in doubt about it for a moment, for all of us who had received the Episcopate had received with it from our predecessors the tradition that the Pope was the center of unity; that communion with him was communion with the Catholic Church; that to be separated from him was to be separated from the Catholic Church; therefore his doctrinal decisions were binding upon all the faithful, and since he could separate anyone from his communion he must be in possession of Infallibility if he were to demand an unconditional acceptance of his teaching under pain of separation from the Church of Christ.

But most of the Bishops who opposed the decision did not do so from any doubt of the truth of the dogma, but only from a feeling of the inopportuneness of the decision and the fear lest the governments of Europe would use it, as the German government did afterwards, as a pretext for persecution, and lest the way into the Church should be made hard for those multitudes of people who were manifestly seeking the rest and peace for their souls which they could only hope to find in the Catholic Church. When, then, the question of Infallibility came to be raised,

it was debated with great heat; not indeed in the public sessions but in those private sessions in which the Fathers discussed the dogma from every point of view. Never have I heard such plain speaking in my life; never have I seen men apparently more violently attached to their own opinions, nor less ready to give way to their opponents. There were times, indeed, when the excitement rose to fever heat, and when one was reminded of some of the earlier Councils, as, for instance, the Council of Chalcedon. But all the excitement was but the outward and visible manifestation of the burning zeal within, and when once the decision was taken and the bull containing it promulgated, *not one Bishop* of that assembly forsook the See of Peter and the Catholic Church.

I remember a story told with regard to the late Archbishop of St. Louis—the Most Rev. Dr. Kenrick. He was violently opposed to the definition, not only because of what he considered its inopportuneness, but because he did not see that it was part of the deposit of faith; nevertheless no sooner was the decision promulgated than he most nobly accepted it and published it in his diocese. Years afterward somebody spoke of the Archbishop to Leo XIII, and criticised his attitude during the Vatican Council to the Holy Father, upon which the Holy Father replied indignantly, "The Metropolitan of St. Louis was a noble man and a true Christian Bishop. When he sat in council as a judge of the faith, he did according to his conscience, and the moment the decision was taken,

although it was against him, he submitted with the filial piety of a Catholic Christian."

I have often thought since what a commentary the proceedings of the Vatican Council would be upon the opinions of those who say that in the Catholic Church there is no freedom of thought, and that we never see but one side of the question. Certainly thought was never freer in the world than it was within the walls of the Council Chamber, and never was there a deliberative assembly with greater freedom of debate than that enjoyed by the Fathers of the Vatican Council.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER I

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN, CHAPTER I.*

THE second month of the Vatican Council has seen no interruption of its labors, nor of the intense interest which these labors seem to excite on every side. In truth, the intensity of this interest, especially among those who are not friendly to the council, would be inexplicable, did we not feel that there is in reality a struggle involved therein between the cause of religion and the cause of irreligion. The meetings of the prelates are private and quiet. The subjects under discussion are, at best, only vaguely known outside. The names of the speakers may be learned. You may ascertain, if you persist in the effort, that one bishop has a fine voice, and was well heard; that another has an exceedingly polished delivery; that a third is remarkable for his fluency, and a fourth for the classic elegance with which he spoke in Latin. But all your efforts will fail to elicit a report of the substance of the speech of any prelate. These speeches are for the council itself—for the as-

* The following chapters on the Vatican Council are the joint production of Dr. Lynch, the learned Bishop of Charleston, and myself, and sent by us from Rome to the *Catholic World.*

sembled fathers to whom they are delivered—and are not for the public at large. They are under the guard of the honor of the bishops and the oath of the officials, and are to be kept secret until the acts of the council are lawfully published. And yet "own correspondents," "occasional correspondents," "special correspondents" and "reliable correspondents" from Rome have failed not, day after day, to fill the columns of newspapers—Italian, French, English, German, Belgian and Spanish and doubtless others also, if we saw them —with their guesses and suspicions, their tiny grains of truth and bushels of fiction. Ponderous columns of editorial comments are often superadded, as it were, to increase the amount of mystery and the mass of errors. Even the brief telegraphic notices seem to be often controlled or made to work in this sense. The telegrams from Rome itself ought to be, and we presume are, correct. The authors of a flagrant misstatement sent from this city could be identified and held responsible. But it is said that, outside of the limits of the Pontifical States, there is a news agent who culls from letters sent him for that purpose most of those wonderful statements about the council which the telegraph wires are made to flash over Europe, and even across the Atlantic to America. The result of all this on the mind of one in Rome is ofttimes amusing.

Meanwhile the council moves on in its direct course, like a majestic steamer on the ocean, undisturbed by the winds blowing alternately from every point of the compass, and unheeding

the wavelets they strive to raise. Within the council everything is proceeding smoothly and harmoniously, some think more slowly than was anticipated. But the fathers of the council feel they have a great work to do conscientiously, and they are engaged earnestly and in the fear of God in its performance.

As yet a third public session of the council has not been held, nor has any public announcement been made of the day when it may be looked for. But the time is busily employed. All the discources had been taken down and written out by stenographers, with an accuracy which elicited the commendation of such bishops as examined the report of their own speeches. These reports were likewise handed over to the committee, that no remark might be overlooked or forgotten. All will be taken into consideration and weighed, together with further remarks before the committee, by the theologians who draw up the *schema* in the Preparatory Committee. The committee is charged to present the matured result to the assembled congregation at the proper time, when it will again be considered, perhaps discussed, and finally voted on.

On January 14th the fathers again assembled in a general congregation in the council hall. Mass was celebrated at 9 a. m., as is always done, by one of the senior prelates. At its conclusion the five presiding Cardinals took their place. Cardinal De Angelis, the chief one, took his seat for the first time, and recited the usual opening prayer.

At the previous congregation five of the *deputations* of the council had been filled by election. The sixth—that on oriental rites and on omissions—still remained to be filled. Twenty-four members were to be elected by ballot.

The election was held in the usual form. The bishops had brought with them their ballots already written out. Several attendants passed, two and two, along the seats of the prelates, one of them bearing a small wickerwork basket. Each prelate deposited therein his ballot. In a few moments all had quietly voted. The baskets were borne to the secretary's table in the middle, in front of the presiding cardinals. The ballots were placed in boxes prepared to receive them. The boxes were closed and sealed, to be opened afterward before the regular committee for this purpose, when the votes would be counted, and the result ascertained.

The following prelates were elected:

Most Rev. Peter Bostani, Archbishop of Tyre and Sidon, Maronite, Asia.

Most Rev. Vincent Spaccapietra, Archbishop of Smyrna, Asia.

Most Rev. Charles Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, Africa.

Rt. Rev. Cyril Behnam-Benni, Bishop of Moussoul (Syrian), Mesopotamia.

Rt. Rev. Basil Abdo (Greek Melchite), Bishop of Mariamne, Asia.

Rt. Rev. Joseph Papp-Szilagyi (Roumenian), Bishop of Gross Wardein.

Most Rev. Aloysius Ciurcia, Archbishop of Irenopolis, Egypt.

Rt. Rev. Aloysius Gabriel de la Place, Bishop of Adrianople, Bulgaria.

Rt. Rev. Stephen Louis Charbonneaux, Bishop of Mysore, India.

Rt. Rev. Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark, England.

Rt. Rev. Hilary Alcazar, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Tonking.

Rt. Rev. Daniel McGettigan, Bishop of Raphoe, Ireland.

Rt. Rev. Joseph Pluym, of Nicopolis, Bulgaria.

Most Rev. Melchoir Nazarian (Armenian), Archbishop of Mardin, Asia.

Rt. Rev. Stephen Melchisedeckian (Armenian), Bishop of Erzeroum, Asia.

Rt. Rev. Augustin George Bar-Schinu (Chaldean), Bishop of Salmas, Asia.

Rt. Rev. John Flynn, Bishop of Toronto, Canada.

Rt. Rev. John Marango, Bishop of Tenos, Greece.

Rt. Rev. Francis John Laouenan, Bishop, V. A. of Pondicherry, India.

Rt. Rev. Anthony Charles Cousseau, Bishop of Angouleme, France.

Rt. Rev. Louis De Goesbriand, Bishop of Burlington, United States.

Most Rev. Joseph Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Rt. Rev. James Quin, Bishop of Brisbane, Australia.

Rt. Rev. Charles Poirier, Bishop of Roseau, West Indies.

His Eminence Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, was appropriately named chairman of this committee.

No one in Rome, or elsewhere, could be found better qualified for this position than this eminent and well-known cardinal, who has for so many years, and so ably, presided over the congregation specially charged with superintending the world-wide missions of the Catholic Church.

This election having been finished, the bishops then entered on the examination of matters of ecclesiastical discipline, several *schemata,* or draughts, which had been presented to them for private study some time before. It is the ordinary usage of councils to examine matters of faith and matters of discipline as nearly *pari passu* as can conveniently be done. It seems this usage will be observed in the Vatican Council. There is a fundamental difference between matters of faith and matters of discipline.

The faith of the Church is ever one—that originally delivered to her by the apostles. A council cannot alter it. The errors or heresies prevailing at any time, the uncertainty in some minds, or other needs of a period, may render it proper or necessary to give a fuller, clearer, and more definite expression of that faith on points controverted or misunderstood. The question always is, What has really been the faith held in the past, from the beginning, by the Church on these points? The answer is sought in the words of

Holy Writ, in the past declarations of the Church, whether in the decrees of her councils or in the authoritative teachings of her sovereign pontiffs, and in her traditions, as shown in the liturgies and forms of prayer, in the testimony of her ancient doctors and fathers, and in the concurrent teachings of the general body of her pastors and her theologians. The whole field of evidence is searched, and the answer stands forth in noonday light; and the council declares what really and truly has been, and is, the belief and teaching of the Catholic Church on the question before it. And that declaration is accepted by the Catholic world, not simply on the word of men, however great their knowledge or accurate and scrutinizing their research—nor simply on account of their holiness of life, their sincerity of heart, or the impartiality of their decision. These are, indeed, high motives, such as the world must always respect, and perhaps enough ordinarily to satisfy human minds. But, after all, they are but human motives.

The Catholic is taught to base his belief on a higher motive—the divine assurance of our Saviour Himself that he would always be with His Church until the end of time; that He would send the Spirit of truth to teach her all truth and to abide with her forever, and that the gates of hell should never prevail against her. Our ears catch the words of the Saviour, "Whosoever heareth you, heareth Me; whosoever despiseth you, despiseth Me;" and we know that the Church is thus made the pillar and ground of truth, and that he

that will not hear the Church is like the heathen and the publican. Hence on His divine word, which must stand though the heavens and the earth pass away, we accept the declarations and teachings of the Church, through her councils, as the continuation of the teaching of Christ Himself.

It is thus that the Vatican Council takes up matters of faith, not to add to the faith, but to declare it and to establish it where it has been impugned or doubted or misunderstood. The question is, What are the points on which the errors and the needs of this age render it proper and necessary to give a renewed, perhaps a fuller, clearer and more emphatic declaration of the doctrine of the Church; and in what form of words shall such declarations be expressed? To all these questions the bishops are bringing their calmest and maturest judgment. There will be, as there must and should be, a free and frank interchange of views and arguments, in all sincerity and charity, even as in the council of the apostles at Jerusalem, there was a great discussion before the definitive result was declared with authority: *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.* When, after such a discussion, the council shall give forth its decisions and decrees, they will be accepted by the children of the Church. They will not be new doctrines. The Catholic heart and conscience will recognize them as portions of that faith which has heretofore ever been held.

But if faith is one and unchangeable, ecclesiastical discipline, at least in most of its details, is not. The Church has received power to bind and

to loose, and necessarily has authority to establish a discipline, not simply for the purpose of securing order within her fold, but to reach the further and higher purpose for which she herself has been established and exists. Men must not merely believe the truth speculatively and with a dead faith. They must, by practical obedience to the law of God, by avoidance of sin through the assistance of divine grace, by practice of virtue and by holiness of life, be guided to keep the word which they have heard, and so come to be saved. This practical guidance is her discipline. The general principles on which her action is based are the maxims and precepts of our divine Lord Himself, the character of the holy sacraments which He established in His Church to be the channels of grace, the institutions which came to her from the apostles, and which she will ever preserve, and those principles of right and morality which God has planted in the heart of man, and of which her divine commission makes her the highest and most authoritative exponent. These principles are sacred and unchangeable. But in applying them to men there must be a large body of laws and regulations in detail. These are of her own institution, and form her ecclesiastical discipline. She can revoke some, amend or alter others, and add still others, as she judges such action to be best adapted, under the ever-varying circumstances of the world, to secure the great end for which she must ever labor—the salvation of souls.

As in all previous councils, so in this Vatican

Council, these matters of discipline have naturally and unavoidably come up for consideration.

We said that, in the General Congregation, held on the 14th of January, immediately after the election of which we have spoken, the discussion of them commenced. It was continued in other congregations held on January 15th, 19th, 21st, 22nd, 24th 25th, 27th, 28th, 31st; February 3d, 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th and 15th. It is not yet closed. So far ninety-five prelates have addressed the council on the various points of discipline that came under examination.

If the discussion on matters of faith was worthy of admiration for the vast learning it displayed, and the intellectual powers of the speakers, this one on discipline was even more interesting for its practical bearing and the personal experience, so to speak, which it recorded. The questions came up whether this or that law of discipline, established eight hundred or five hundred or three hundred years ago, however wise and efficacious at the period of its institution, could now be looked on as sufficiently accomplishing its original purpose; or whether, on the contrary, some new law, proposed for the consideration of the prelates, might not now be wisely substituted for it. Bishops from every part of the world brought the light of their own experience to illustrate the subject.

Every portion of the world was heard from. The East, through Chaldeans, Maronites and Armenians. The West, through Italian, French,

German, Hungarian, Spanish, Mexican, Peruvian, Brazilian, English, Irish and American bishops. The past was interrogated as to the reasons and motives on which the olden laws were based, and the special purposes they were intended to effect; and the present, as to their actual observance and effects in this century. Even the future was examined so far as men may look into it, to conjecture what course the world was taking; and what, on the other hand, would be the most proper course for the Church to pursue in her legislation, in order to secure the fullest observance of the laws of God, and the truest promotion of His glory.

We might well be assured that, even humanly speaking, such abundance of knowledge and experience, such careful examination of all the past and present bearings of the subjects, such a keen, calm scrutiny of the future would secure to the Church from such men an ecclesiastical legislation of the highest practical wisdom, as well in what is retained as in what is changed or added as new. But, as Catholics, we should never lose sight of that higher wisdom with which the Holy Ghost, according to the words of Christ, and in answer to the prayers of the Catholic world, will not fail to guide the fathers of the council.

It will thus be seen that during this month the council has steadily pursued the even tenor of its way, without any public session. In fact, no day has as yet been assigned even as the proximate date of the third public session. No one outside the council seems able to say precisely what prog-

ress has been made in discussing and disposing of matters. Still less can we say when the council will close. There seems to be a feeling that the discussions will continue until June, when the almost tropical heat of a Roman summer must set in. This will, of course, necessitate an adjournment until the close of October, when the bishops would probably reassemble to continue their work. Time only can show whether there is any truth in this prognostication. Some of the bishops of a more practical turn of mind, or more desirous of returning soon to their dioceses, are striving to find a mode of conciliating the most perfect freedom of discussion with a more rapid progress in the matters before the council. The most sacred right in a council is freedom to state one's views on matters in controversy, and to uphold them by all the arguments in one's power. This right has so far been most fully enjoyed and freely used. No plan that would take it away would be entertained.

Every day in Rome now convinces a sojourner more and more strongly of the unity, the catholicity, and the sanctity of the Church of Christ. Faith that heretofore was almost extinct beneath the ashes of worldly thoughts, here glows again and bursts into a bright flame. Elsewhere we believed these truths; here we seem to behold with our eyes, and to touch with our hands their reality. No one can be privileged to mingle with the bishops here without being impressed with their perfect unity in all things declared and taught by the Church, and with the undisguised readiness

or rather firm intention of all, to accept and to hold and to teach all that, under the light of the Holy Ghost, shall be declared of faith in this Vatican Council.

To be fully impressed with this perfect unity one must be privileged to mingle somewhat with the bishops. But even the cursory glance of a stranger sees the evidence of the catholicity of the Church presented by the gathering of so many bishops from so many portions of the world around the central chair of unity. We will now give a summary, almost official, which has just been made out, classifying the prelates who have attended, according to their nationalities and dioceses.

EUROPE.

Austria and Tyrol	10
Bohemia and Moravia	5
Illyria and Dalmatia	13
Hungary and Galicia	20
Belgium	6
France	84
Germany, North Confederation	10
Germany, South Confederation	9
England	14
Ireland	20
Scotland	2
Greece	5
Holland	4
Lombardy	3
Venice	8
Naples, Kingdom of	65
Sicily and Malta	13
Sardinia, Kingdom of	25
Tuscany and Modena	19

States of the Church, including cardinals, and

all the bishops from Sees in those portions seized by

Victor Emanuel	143
Portugal	2
Switzerland	8
Spain	41
Russia	0
Turkey in Europe	12

ASIA.

China and Japan	15
Hindostan and Cochin China, etc	18
Persia	1
Turkey in Asia	49

AFRICA.

Algeria	3
Canary Islands and the Azores	3
Egypt and Tunis	?
Senegambia	1
Southern Africa	4

OCEANICA.

Australia and the Islands of the Pacific Ocean	14

AMERICA.

Dominion of Canada, and other British Provinces of North America	16
United States	49
Mexico	10
Guatemala	4
West Indies	5
New Granada	4
Ecuador	4
Guyana	1
Venezuela	2
Peru	3
Brazil	6
Bolivia	2
Argentine Republic	5
Chili	3

THAT IS, Europe	541	
America	114	
Asia	83	
Africa	14	
Oceanica	14	
		766

Divided according to rites they stand as follows:

Latin Rite	706	Armenian	21
Greek Rite	3	Chaldean	10
Greek Bulgarian	1	Syrian	7
Greek Melchite	10	Maronite	4
Greek Roumenian	2	Coptic	1
Greek Ruthenian	1		
			766

Truly, it is such a gathering as no human power could assemble. Only the Catholic Church could effect it. No wonder that strangers from every clime, especially devout Catholics, have flocked to Rome these months as they never flocked before.

The splendor of the ceremonies of our Holy Church, as celebrated in Rome, especially in St. Peter's, is unequalled in the whole world. A gray-haired ambassador was present some years ago in St. Peter's at the celebration of high mass by the Sovereign Pontiff on Easter Sunday. He had been present at two imperial and several royal coronations, where every effort was made to give a national magnificence to the ceremony; had witnessed several royal marriages, and grand court celebrations of every character. But he declared that everything he had ever seen sank into insignificance before the grandeur and the sublime magnificence of that high mass. Never were the religious celebrations of Rome so impressive as they have been, and are, during this council, when the sanctuary is filled with more than half a thousand prelates, Latin and Oriental, in their rich and varied vestments. Strangers and Romans alike crowd the grand basilica. Yet the

stranger often fails to see, what the Roman feels, as it were, by instinct, that all this effort at splendor and magnificence is purely and wholly a tribute of man to honor the religion which God in His love and mercy has given, and that no part of it is for man's own honor. If the stranger would realize this truth, which is the soul of the ceremonial of the Church, he has but to follow these prelates from the sanctuary to their homes, and witness the simplicity of their private lives. Perhaps he will be shocked at the unexpected discovery of what he would term discomfort and poverty.

In such personal simplicity and self-denial the Sovereign Pontiff himself gives the example in the Vatican. The palace is very large; but the libraries, the archives, the various museums, and the galleries and halls of paintings, of statuary and of art, occupy no small portion of it. Other portions of it are devoted to the vast workshops of the unrivalled Roman mosaics, others still to the mint. The offices of the secretary of state, and the bureaus of other departments are there. The Sixtine and Pauline, and other chapels are found in it; and the various officers and attendants of the court have many of them their special apartments. The Pontiff has his suite of rooms, as well those of state as those that are private. You enter a large, well-proportioned hall, rich with gilding and arabesque and fresco paintings. A company of soldiers might manouvre on its marble floor. It is spacious enough to receive the fullest suite of a sovereign who

would visit the Pope. In the next room—a smaller and less ornamental one, yet in something of the same style, and with a few benches for furniture—a servant will take your hat and cloak. In a third room you find some ecclesiastical attendants. You pass through a fourth room of considerable size. It is now empty. At times a consistory or meeting of the cardinals for business is held here; at other times an ascetic Capuchin father, with his tonsured head, his long beard, his coarse brown woollen cassock fastened around the waist by a cord, and with sandalled feet, preaches to the cardinals and bishops and officials of the court, and to the Pope himself. With the freedom and bravery of a man who, to follow Christ, has given up the world, and hopes for nothing from man, and fears nothing save to fail in his duty, he reminds those whom men honor of their duties and obligations, and in plain, oft-times unvarnished language, will not shrink from speaking the sternest, strongest home truths of religion. You pass through the silent hall in reverence.

A fourth hall, with a better carpeting and tolerably warmed, is the ante-chamber proper, where those are waiting who are to be admitted to an audience of the Pope. In another smaller room, opening from this one those are waiting whose turn it will be to enter next; or perhaps a group is assembled, if the Pope will come out hither to receive them, as he sometimes does, when the audience is simply one not of business, but simply for the honor of being presented to him, and of

receiving his blessing. All these which we have enumerated are the state or ceremonial apartments.

From the last one you pass to the private office of the sitting-room of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is a plain room, about fifteen feet by twenty, not lofty, lighted by a single window, and without a fireplace. Two or three devotional paintings hang against the walls; a stand supports a small and exquisitely chisseled statue of the Blessed Virgin. At one side of the room, on a slight platform, is the Pope's armchair, in which he is seated, clothed in his white woollen *soutane*. Before him is his large writing table, with well-filled drawers and pigeonholes. On it you see pens, ink, sand and paper, his breviary, perhaps, and one or two volumes, and an ivory crucifix. A small case in the corner of the room contains some other books, some objects of *vertu*, medals, and such articles as he designs to give as mementoes. There is a thin carpet on the floor, and a couple of plain wooden chairs are near the table.

Here Pius IX ordinarily spends many hours each day, as hard worked as any bank clerk. He is exceedingly regular in his habits. He rises before five in summer, at half past five in winter. In half an hour he passess to his private chapel, and gives an hour and a half to his devotions, and to the celebration of two masses; the first by himself, the second by one of his chaplains. A cup of chocolate and a small roll of bread suffice for his breakfast. He at once passes to his office, and works for one hour alone and undisturbed. Then commence

the business audiences of the heads or secretaries of the various departments, civil and ecclesiastical; a long and tedious work, in which he gives a conscientious attention to every detail. By half past eleven A. M. he commences to receive bishops and ecclesiastics, or strangers from abroad. This usually ends by one P. M., when he retires for his midday devotions, and for his dinner and repose. This may be followed by more work, alone in his office. At half past three in winter, at half past four in summer, if the weather allows it, he gives an hour and a half to a drive and a walk. Returning home he takes a slight repast, and again the audiences for business or for strangers commence, and last until after eight. At nine punctually he retires, to commence again the same routine the next day. Such are his regular days. At other times he must be in church, or must visit one institution or establishment or another in the city, spend an hour or two in ceremony or business, and hurry home. Near this sitting-room is a smaller room, where he takes his meals alone; for, the Pope neither gives nor accepts entertainments. His table does not cost more than thirty cents a day. Not far off is his sleeping chamber, small as the other, with a narrow bed and hard couch. Truly, his is no life of ease and pampered indulgence. There is a stern meaning in his title, *Servant of the Servants of God.*

The same simplicity and austereness mark the private life of the cardinals. There is now, indeed, an outward show, for they rank as princes of the blood royal. There are the richly orna-

mented carriages drawn by brilliantly harnessed horses, and attended by servants in livery. There are the decorated state ante-chambers and halls. All these things are for the public, and are prescribed by rule. If a cardinal had not himself the means to support them, he would be entitled to a state salary for the purpose of keeping them up. But back of all these may be found a plain, almost unfurnished room, in which he studies and writes, and a bed chamber—we have seen some ten feet by twelve, carpetless and fireless. Ofttimes, too, the cardinal lives in the religious house of some community, and then much of the state can be dispensed with. But for the red calotte which he wears on his head you often could not distinguish him from the other clergymen in the establishment.

The same spirit seems to characterize the bishops who are now gathered together in Rome. All their splendor is in the Church and for religion. In their private life they certainly do not belong to that class of strangers from whose lavish expenditures in fashionable life the Romans will reap a rich harvest. They live together in groups, mostly in religious houses or colleges, or in apartments, which several club together to take at moderate rates. Thus the Chaldean patriarch, a venerable, white-bearded prelate, near eighty years of age, with the other bishops of his rite, and their attendant priests, all live together in one monastery, not far from St. Peter's. Whatever the weather, they go on foot in their oriental dress to the council, and when the

meeting is over, return on foot. Their stately, oriental walk, their calm, thoughtful countenances, the colored turbans on their heads, the mixture of purple and black and green and red, in their flowing robes, set off by the gold of their massive episcopal chains, and their rich crosses sparkling with diamonds, never fail to attract attention. But one should see them in their home, which they have made as Eastern as they could.

The orientals are exceedingly temperate in their meals, and as regards wine, are almost "teetotalers." But they do love to smoke. As the visitor is ushed into a room, where the only piece of furniture is a broad-cushioned seat running round along the walls, on which are seated a dozen or more of long-bearded men, their feet gathered up under them in oriental fashion, and each one smoking a pipe a yard long, and filling the atmosphere with clouds of Latakia, he almost thinks himself in Mossul. The pipes are gravely withdrawn on his entrance, that the right hand may go to the forehead, and the heads may bow. The welcome, *schalom,* "peace," is gravely spoken, with perhaps a smile. He takes a seat on a divan and is asked to take a pipe, if so minded. From time to time the silence is interrupted by some remark in a full, sedate voice, and intensely guttural words of Chaldee or Arabic, whether on the last debate of the council or on some new phase of the Eastern question, it is probable the visitor will never learn. But he has caught a glimpse of quiet Chaldean life. Fourteen or fifteen of the Armenian prelates, with the patriarch, live in a

not very dissimilar manner. But the Armenians are much more akin to Europeans in their education and character of thought. They are good linguists. All of them speak Italian fluently, many of them French, and some a little English. Their society is agreeable and instructive, and is much sought.

In like manner eighteen of the American bishops are domiciled in the American College. Some others are with the Lararists at their mother house, others again are at St. Bridget's or St. Bartholomew's, or with the Dominicans. Those that have taken apartments have contrived with a very few exceptions to live together in groups. The English, the Irish, in fact, nearly all the bishops have followed the same plan. Some laughingly say that their college days have come back to them, with their regularity and their accommodations. But these are not quite as agreeable at fifty or sixty as they were at the age of twenty. Yet all feel, and none more thoroughly than the bishops themselves, that this life of comparative retirement, of quiet and study, and of continued and closest intercourse with each other, must tend to prepare them, and to qualify them, for the great work on which they are engaged.

Another special feature of Rome in this season, dependent on the council, is the frequency of sermons in various languages, and of various religious services in the churches. Rome as the center of Catholicity is never without a certain number of clergymen from every nation of Europe. Each winter, too, sees thousands of visitors, Cath-

olics, Protestants and unbelievers, crowding her streets, drawn hither by motives of religion, science, of curiosity or of fashion. It was natural that visitors should be enabled to listen to the truths of our holy religion preached in their own languages. This year it could be done much more fully, and the opportunity has not been allowed to pass by unregarded. For example, "The Pious Society for Missions," an excellent community of priests, established in this city over thirty years ago by the saintly Abbate Pallotti, has the custom of celebrating the festival and octave of Epiphany each year by appropriate religious exercises, and introducing sermons in several languages. This year they selected the larger and noble Church of San Andrea della Valle, and continued their exercises for eleven days. The following was the program which they followed:

At	5.30 A. M.	Mass,
	6.00 A. M.	Italian sermon and benediction.
	9.00 A. M.	High mass of the Latin rite,
	10.00 A. M.	High mass in an oriental rite (Armenian, Greek, Copt, Chaldean, Roumenian, Melchite, Bulgarian, Maronite, Armenian again, Syrian, Ambrosian;)
	11.00 A. M.	A sermon in some foreign language—that is Polish once, German twice, Spanish twice, English six times, (Archbishop Spalding, Father Hecker and Bishop McGill, Bishop Moriarty of Kerry, Bishop Ullathorne, and Archbishop Manning were the English preachers.)
	1.30 P. M.	Each day, a French sermon by a Bishop.
	3.30 P. M.	An Italian sermon and benediction.
	6.00 P. M.	Another sermon in Italian with benediction.

The sermons were all, of course, of a high order of merit. The church was crowded morning, forenoon, afternoon and evening.

French sermons have been continued ever since, mostly by the eloquent Bishop Mermillod, of Geneva and English sermons on Sundays and Wednesdays by Father Burke, an eloquent Dominican of St. Clement's and by Monsignor Capel. During Lent there will be an additional series of English sermons, to be delivered by the American bishops.

On the 20th of January the American episcopate and the American College received from the Holy Father a very signal and agreeable mark of his good will. It was meant, one might almost think, as a return visit on his part, in the only way which court etiquette allows. He chose the church of the college as the place where he would pronounce a decree in the cause of the venerable servant of God, John Juvenal Ancina, Bishop of Saluzzo, in Northern Italy. In that church he would, of course, be surrounded by the American prelates, priests and students, and from the church would pass to the college.

John Juvenal Ancina was born in Fossano, in Piedmont, in 1545. Having finished his course of collegiate studies, he graduated in medicine, and for years practised that profession with great ability, and greater charity toward the poor, to whom he devoted himself. In course of time he lost every near relative except one brother. Both determined with common accord to enter the sanctuary, and came to Rome for that purpose, and

there joined the Oratorians under St. Philip Neri. John spent years in the priesthood, honored for his learning, and still more for his piety and sweetness and zeal in the ministry, which he exercised in Rome, in Naples and in Turin. Much against his will, and only after repeated injunctions from the Pope, he was forced to accept the charge of the Diocese of Saluzzo. He had been the intimate and dear friend of St. Francis de Sales for years of his priesthood, and their friendship continued until the close of his short and fruitful episcopacy. He died in 1604, and St. Francis preached his funeral eulogy. He is the one with whom the Saint had the oft-cited exchange of puns complimentary, "Tu vere *Sal es.*" "Immo, tu *Sal et Lux.*" The reputation of the virtues of such a man could not die with him. Not long after his death the episcopal authorities of Saluzzo allowed and directed that full testimony should be taken under oath, from those who lived with him and knew him well, as to the truth of his holy life. This was fully and searchingly done throughout the Diocese of Saluzzo. Similar investigations were instituted, under similar authority, in Rome, in Naples, and in Turin where at different times he had lived, and wherever such testimony could be found. The original depositions—and they are a large mass, and are still extant—were sent to Rome. The Pontiff directed that they should be laid before the proper tribunal—the Congregation of Rites. They were found to fulfil the requirements of the canons, and to present such a *prima facie* case as would au-

thorize that congregation to proceed. This meant that, after a certain lapse of time, during which affection and human feeling might die out, and any hidden truth might work its way to the light, the congregation should go over the ground a second time, taking through other persons a second and independent mass of testimony. This was done, and its results were compared with those of the first mass of testimony. There was no contradiction; but on the contrary, full and ample confirmation. Still the opinion and belief of the witnesses was not yet deemed of itself sufficient. Taking the facts of his life, his words and writings, and acts and habits, as they were thus proved, they were all studied out and carefully weighed in the scales of the sanctuary. There was no hurry—there never is at Rome, as this council fully shows—and the decision of the congregation was not given until the year 1767. Then came many political vicissitudes; first of Northern Italy, as it passed from the domination of one power to that of another, and later the convulsions of all Europe consequent on the French revolution. The whole matter slumbered until 1855, when it was again taken up. The examination of the life and acts was gone over again as before. Step by step matters advanced until last November, at a general meeting of the Congregation of Rites, held in the presence of His Holiness, it was decided *That the servant of God, John Juvenal Ancina, had in his lifetime practised the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, toward God and his neighbor, and the cardinal virtues of*

prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, and their accessory virtues, in an heroic degree.

It was to announce this decision, in a formal decree, that the Pontiff came, on the 29th of January, the festival of St. Francis de Sales, to the church of the American College. He arrived at ten A. M., and was received at the portal of the college by the rector of the college, and all the American bishops now at Rome, and by a dozen others, Irish, English, Scotch and Italian. He proceeded at once to the church, which, though small is one of the handsomest in Rome for its beautiful marbles and fine statuary. The Pontiff knelt, while one of his chaplains celebrated mass. The bishops, all the American priests in the city, the students of the college, and many Catholics from the United States, and some other strangers filled the little church. After the mass the Pontiff ascended to the throne prepared for him. Cardinal Patrizi, prefect of the Congregation of Rites; Cardinal Capalti, who had special charge of this case, and Cardinal Barnabo, protector of the college, stood next to him. The formal decree was read, proclaiming the decision, in virtue of which we shall henceforth say, "the VENERABLE John Juvenal Ancina."* The superior general

* When it shall have been established with the evidence required by the Congregation of Rites that it has pleased God to work two miracles, of the first class, after the death of this venerable servant, through his intercession, a decree may be issued stating that fact, and allowing his beatification. When two other miracles of the same class shall have been proved with the same certainty to have occurred, after his beatification, the blessed servant of God may be canonized and enrolled among the saints of the church.

of the Oratorians, to which community, as we have said, he belonged, returned thanks in an eloquent and brief discourse in Latin. The Pope then, taking his theme from the life of the VENERABLE bishop, addressed to the prelates present a short and feeling discourse, in Italian, on the character and virtues which should adorn a bishop. Though he did not mention the council, it was evident that the thought of it filled his heart. He spoke of the servant of God whom he had just declared venerable as imitating the apostles. They, from being fishermen, were called to be fishers of men; and he, too, from being a physician of the body, was called to be a physician of souls. This holy man he showed to be a model of bishops, and enlarged on the text of St. Gregory the Great, that a bishop should be "in thought pure; in deeds, eminent; in silence, discreet; in word, useful; in the contemplation of heavenly things, elevated." "Who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord? Let him be of pure hands and clean heart." Let him be single-minded, doing everything for the Glory of God, without any admixture of human motives. Let him be first in all good works, so as to be a pattern to his flock. He did not speak of that silence which means cowardice, or indifference to whatever evil goes on in the world. There is a time to speak, as well as a time to be silent. The bishop must be useful in words, speaking out boldly whenever it is for the advantage of the Christian people. He must be a man of prayer. What is the origin of the evils

which we see in the world? The prophet answers, "Because there is not one who thinketh in his heart." The Pontiff dwelt for a few moments on all these points, and in conclusion quoted St. Gregory again, who said, "I have given you a beautiful picture of a bishop, though the painter be bad." "What the saint says out of humility, I must say," he added, "of myself in truth. But pray for me that God may give me strength to bear the heavy weight He has laid upon me. Let us pray for each other. Do you pray for me; and I call on the Almighty to bless you, and your dioceses, and your people."

The words of the Pontiff were simple, because full of devotion and truth; and the delivery was exquisitely perfect, in the earnest, heartfelt, subdued tones of his voice, and the chaste dignity of his gestures. All felt that the Pontiff spoke from his paternal heart.

The Bishop of Saluzzo, the successor in this century of the VENERABLE *Ancina,* returned thanks; and all proceeded from the church to the grand hall of the college. The cloister of the court yard and the broad stairways and corridors were adorned with drapery, tapestry and evergreens. A splendid life-size portrait of His Holiness, just painted by the American artist, Healy, for the exhibition about to be opened, had been sent to the college for the occasion, and was placed in a prominent position. In the hall the Pontiff again spoke a few kind and paternal words, and Archbishop Spalding, in the name of the American Church, clergy and laity, made an

address to the Pope in Latin. The discourse was excellent in language and happy in thought. His Grace referred to the fact that Pius VI had given us our first bishop (Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore); Pius VII had multiplied dioceses, and given us our first archiepiscopal see; and he, Pius IX had established six other archiepiscopal sees. So that in a country where sixty years ago there was but one bishop, there are now sixty, three-fourths of whom are here in Rome to attend the general council. Toward the end of his discourse the good archbishop brought in a few touches of true American wit. This is what Italians would scracely hazard on such an occasion, and it was to them unexpected. Even the Pope looked for a moment puzzled, as if he could not conjecture what was coming; but as he caught the point a smile spread over his countenance, and the smile developed into a hearty laugh.

The Bishops, the superiors, and students of the college, the priests who were present, and the laity, approached to offer their homage to the Pontiff and receive his blessing. This over, he departed, but not until he had declared that he was delighted, more than delighted, with his visit.

Rome, February 17, 1870.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER II

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN, CHAPTER II.

ANOTHER month of the Vatican Council has passed by without any public session. There has not been a general congregation since February 22nd, when the twenty-ninth was held. The absence of grand public ceremonials has driven some of the newspaper correspondents to turn elsewhere in search of sensational items. We are no longer inundated, and at times amused, by column after column of newspaper accounts narrating speeches and events in the council that had scarcely any existence, except in the fertile imaginations of the writers. The outward calm in Rome had produced its effect to no small extent in the newspaper world.

This calm, however is by no means the calm of inaction. Quite the contrary. At no time were the fathers so assiduously engaged in the deep study of the matters before them, or more earnestly occupied with their conciliar labors.

We stated in our last number that they were engaged in the discussion of the subjects of discipline, on which several *schemata,* or draughts, had been drawn up by preparatory committees of theologians, in anticipation of the council. The

discussion was continued, on February 19th, with six speakers, and was closed on the 22nd with seven other speakers, when the fourth *schema*, on discipline was referred, as the preceding ones had been, to the appropriate committee or *deputation* on matters of discipline.

Thus, within two months, since the Congregation of December 28th, when the discussion began, one *schema* on faith and four on discipline had come up before the bishops; and there had been in all one hundred and forty-five speeches delivered on them. The experience of those two months had made several points very clear:

First, the schemata, or draughts, as prepared by the theologians, did not prove as acceptable to the bishops as perhaps their authors had expected. On the contrary, the bishops subjected them to a very searching examination and discussion, criticising and weighing every point and every expression; and seemed disposed, in a measure, to recast some of them entirely.

Secondly, the mode in which this examination had so far been conducted might, it was thought, be improved, both in its thoroughness and in the length of time it occupied. So far, all the prelates who wished had spoken, one after another. The sittings of the congregations usually lasted from nine A. M. to one P. M., and became a great trial of the physical endurance of many of these aged men. The prelates could not refrain from asking each other, What progress are we making? How long will this series of speeches last?

Again, many of the speakers, unwilling to occupy

the attention of the congregation too long, strove to condense what they wished to say, and sometimes omitted much that might have thrown additional light on the subject, or would be material for the support of their views. Yet how could this be avoided without extending the discussion beyond the limits of endurance?

Still more, many prelates, whose mature and experienced judgments would have been most valuable, would not speak; some, because they were unwilling to increase the already large number of speakers; others because their organs of speech were too feeble to assure their being heard throughout a hall which held over a thousand persons in by no means crowded seats.

These points had gradually made themselves manifest, and, the question had been raised, how these difficulties could be met. Some suggested a division of the prelates into a number of sections, in each and all of which the discussions might go on at the same time. But, after much consideration, another method was resolved on, and was announced in the congregation of February 22nd as the one to be followed in the examination and discussion of the next *schema*, to be taken up by the council.

The main points of these additional regulations are the following: When a *schema* comes before the council for examination, instead of the viva voce discussion, which according to the first system would take place in the congregations, before sending it to the proper committee, if necessary, the cardinals presiding shall fix and announce a

suitable time, within which any and every one of the fathers, who desires to do so, may commit his view on it to writing, and shall send in the same to the secretary of the council. Any amendments, additions, and corrections which he may wish to make must be fully and clearly written out. The secretary must, at the end of the appointed time, transmit to the appropriate committee, or *deputation* of bishops, all the remarks on the *schema*. The *schema* will be examined and remodelled, if necessary, by the committee, under the light of these written statements, precisely as would be done if the members had before them the full report of the speeches made in the former style before the congregation. The reformed *schema* is again presented to the congregation, and with it a summary exposition of the substance of the remarks and of the amendments proposed. "When the *schema,* together with the aforesaid summary, has been distributed to the fathers of the council, the said presidents shall appoint a day for its discussion in general congregation." In parliamentary usage, this corresponds to having the discussion, not on the first, but on the second reading of a bill.

This discussion must proceed in the strict order of topics, first generally; that is, on the *schema* wholly or in part, as it may have been brought before the congregation; then on the several portions of it, one by one. The speakers who wish to take part in the discussion must, in giving in their names as before, state also whether they intend to speak on the *schema* as a whole, or on

some special parts of it, and which ones. The form of amendment, should a speaker propose one, must be handed in, in writing, at the conclusion of his speech. The members of the reporting committee or deputation will, moreover, be free to speak in reply, during the debate, as they judge it advisable.

The last four of these by-laws are the following:

XI. "If the discussion be unreasonably protracted, after the subject has been sufficiently debated, the cardinals presiding, on the written request of at least ten bishops, shall be at liberty to put the question to the fathers whether the discussion shall continue. The fathers shall vote by rising or retaining their seats; and if a majority of the fathers present so decide, they shall close the discussion.

XII. "When the discussion on one part of a schema is closed, and before proceeding to another, the presiding cardinals shall take the vote of the general congregation, first on the amendments proposed during the discussion itself, and then on the whole context of the part under consideration.

XIII. "The votes, both as to the amendments and as to the context of such part, will be given by the fathers in the following mode: First, the cardinals presiding shall require those who assent to the amendment of text to rise; then, by a second call, shall require those who dissent to rise in their turn; and after the votes have been counted, the decision of the majority of the fathers will be recorded.

XIV. "When all the several parts of a schema have been voted on in this mode, the cardinals presiding shall take the judgment of the fathers on the entire *schema* under examination as a whole. These votes shall be given viva voce, by the words, PLACET or NON PLACET. But those who think it necessary to add any consideration shall give their votes in writing."

It is already evident that the first provision of these by-laws or regulations is attaining its purpose. At the congregation of February 22nd, when they went into force, a certain portion of a

new *schema*, on matters of faith, was announced as the next matter regularly coming up for examination, and the space of ten days was assigned within which the fathers might write out their criticisms, and propose any amendments to it, and send such written opinions to the secretary. There was no limit to hamper the bishops in the fullest expression of their sentiments. They might write briefly or at great length as they deemed proper. Moreover, in writing, they would naturally be more exact and careful than perhaps they could be in speeches often made extempore. There would also be less liability of being misunderstood. Moreover, many more could, and probably would, write than would have spoken. It is said over one hundred and fifty did so write on this first occasion; so that, in reality, as much was done in these ten days as under the old system would have occupied two months. The second portion, touching the debate before the congregation, will, of course, be effective and satisfactory. And it is confidently hoped that the third portion, as to the mode of closing the debate and taking the vote, will, when the time comes for testing it, be found equally satisfactory.

There is one question which excites universal attention, perhaps we should rather say universal talk, outside the council—the infallibility of the Pope. It has become in Europe the question of the day. Books have been published on it, pamphlets discussing it are written every week, and England, France, Germany and Spain have been deluged with newspaper articles upholding it or attacking it—

articles written with every possible shade of learning and of ignorance, and in every degree of temper, from the best to the worst. The articles are what might be expected when the writers are of every class, from erudite theologians down to penny-a-liners, and when, if some are good and sincere Catholics, many are by no means such. Protestants have written on it, some in favor of the doctrine, most of them agianst it. The bitterest and most unfair articles, however, have been, and are, those written by the political opponents of the Church; though how this precise question can come into politics, any more than the existence of religion, the divinity of the Saviour, the infallibility of the Church, or any other point of doctrine, we cannot see. But in Europe, if religion does not go into politics, politics, or at least politicians and political writers, have no scruples in going into religious matters. In fact, the most advanced party of *"progress, and enlightenment, and liberty"* proclaim that there should be no religion at all; that it narrows the intellect by hampering freedom of thought, and enslaves man by forbidding him to do much that he desires; and as they think mankind should, on the contrary, be free from all trammels; and as they hold it to be their special mission to effect this liberation, they systematically omit no occasion of attacking religion. For them one point is as good as another. Anything will serve this class of writers. And, unfortunately for religious news, much of what appears in the press of Europe, and must gradually

be infused, in part at least, into the press in the United States, is from such pens, and is imbued or is tinged with their spirit.

We would not do justice to Rome and the council if we omitted to mention a very interesting event with which the council is connected, if only as an incidental occasion. We mean the Roman Exposition of Arts, as applied to religious purposes.

The exposition was opened on the 17th of February by the Pope himself, in the presence of the commission for the exposition, a number of cardinals, some three hundred of the bishops, and a large concourse of clergy and laity. He made an impromptu discourse, touching chiefly on the true progress which art has made under the inspiration of religion and the patronage of the Church, and in illustration referred to some of those unrivalled works of religious painting and sculpture which are found in Rome.

Nothing could be more appropriate to the assembling of so many bishops and priests and pious laymen in Rome, drawn by the council, than this exposition. Go when you will, you will find many of all these classes spending hours in studying a collection of religious works of every kind, such as most of them have never seen. In size and extent this exposition cannot, of course, compare with those vast ones of London and Paris. They sought and received objects of every kind. This admits nothing that is not devoted to, or in some way connected with, religion. It would cor-

respond, therefore, with one section of the Paris Exposition in 1867. Considered in this light, it does not, as a whole, fall below it; in several respects it is superior.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER III

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FOR another month the Vatican Council has pursued the path originally marked out for its labors with a calmness and steady perseverance which no outside influences can disturb. In the beginning of its sessions, sensational correspondents described what they saw and what they did not see—praised, mocked, or maligned as their humors led them, or as their patrons desired, and poured forth abundant streams of amusing anecdotes, acute guesses and positive assurances. The correspondence of one week was found to contradict that of the preceding week, and was itself contradicted the week following. Now, though wit, and drollery, and sarcasm may please for a time, human nature, after all desires truth. And as men saw these contradictions they came to understand how thoroughly untrustworthy were these correspondents; and the writers, ever on the alert to catch the first symptoms of popular feeling, have, in great part, dropped the subject. The only influence which such writings as these have had on the prelates of the council was to supply them with abundant topics for amusement in their hours of relaxation.

Another class of writers have all along treated, and still continue to treat, of the council and its action with earnestness of purpose, and are making strenuous efforts to guide and control or to check its course on subjects which they believe to have come or which may come up before it. We speak of those who are moved by religious or political feelings. Day after day and week after week, Italian, French, German and English newspapers are taking one side or the other on these subjects, and write on them, if they do not always discuss them. At times you may find an article learned, well written, replete with thought, and suggestive, perhaps instructive. But generally the articles are only such as may be looked for in a newspaper —superficial and with an affectation of smartness. However, their brilliancy, ofttimes only tinsel, may please their world of readers; among the bishops in the council they have, and can have, no weight whatever. It would, indeed, be surprising if they had.

Beyond the papers, there come pamphlets, many of them ably and learnedly written. It is to be lamented that too often the writers have allowed themselves to be carried away by excitement, and to use language which calls for censure. Still they profess to discuss the questions gravely, and to present the strongest arguments in favor of their respective sides. We will not say that such writings are not privately read and maturely weighed by the fathers, and, in fact, carefully studied, so far as they may throw light on subjects of doctrine or discipline to be examined.

But they certainly have not had the power to accelerate or retard, by a single day, the regular course of business before the council.

Some weeks ago the papers of Europe were filled with articles announcing the approaching action of several governments, and the measures they would take to influence the Pope and the bishops, so as to control their action by the apprehension of possible political results. What precise amount of truth and what amount of exaggeration there was in the vast mass of excited utterances on this subject, we are not yet able to say. Perhaps it may hereafter be discovered in sundry green books, red books and yellow books. This much is certain: The council was not even flurried by it. We are certain that in all the debates, not the slightest reference was ever made to the matter. As we write the whole subject seems to be passing into oblivion. Even those who spoke most positively only a few weeks ago seem to have forgotten their assertions about the intended interference of this, that, or the other government.

There is a majesty in this calm attitude of the Sovereign Pontiff, and of the council, which does not fail to command the respect even of worldlings and unbelievers. They can with difficulty, if at all, comprehend the great truth on which it is based and which produces it. The Catholic would scarcely look for any other attitude from our prelates. The bishops of the Catholic Church, assembled in council, are not politicians or servants of the world, seeking popularity or fearing

the loss of it. They fear not those who can slay only the body, but Him who can slay both body and soul. They are assembled in the name of Christ our Lord, to do the work to which He appointed them. They must proclaim His doctrines and His precepts; they must promote the extention of His kingdom, and must zealously and unceasingly seek the welfare and salvation of souls for whom He shed His blood on Calvary. They are men, and as subjects or citizens, they are bound to give, and each in his own home does give, unto Cæsar all that is Cæsar's. But they are Christian bishops, and they must not fail to give, and to instruct and call on all men to give unto God the things that are God's. Assembled in the Holy Ghost, they do not seek to discover what is popular—what may be pleasing or what contrary to the opinions, or prejudices, or passions of today, whether in the fulsome self-adulation, because of our vaunted progress, or in the intrigues and plans of worldly politics and national ambitions. They stand far above all this folly, and are not plunged into this chaos. They have to set forth clearly the one divine truth of revelation which has been handed down from the beginning, and which they see now so frequently impugned and controverted, or set aside and forgotten. It is precisely because the world is setting it aside, that this council has met and will speak.

Our divine Saviour Himself declared that the world would oppose the teachers of His truth as it had opposed Him. The history of the eighteen hundred years of her existence is, for the Church,

but a continuous verification of that prophecy. The fathers of the Vatican Council cannot lose sight of the lesson thus given. It should purify their hearts and strengthen their souls. For they, of all men, must believe most truly and earnestly in the truth and the reality of Christianity and the greatness of the work in which they are engaged. Hence, when the murmurs or the clamors of the world come to their ears they are not filled with fear or with surprise. Of all miracles, they would look on this as the greatest, that, as the Vatican Council speaks, the passions and earthly interests and prejudices of men should at once die out or grow mute, and that no voice should be heard in opposition, no arm be raised to arrest or thwart, if it could, the work of God. This they do not look for. Opposition must come, and they must not fear it, nor shrink from encountering it while at their post of duty. As they become conscious of its approach, they can but gird themselves the more energetically to their work, and seek the guidance and strength of which they have need from on high.

When we closed our last article the prelates of the council were busily engaged, in accordance with the new by-laws, in writing out their observations and criticisms on several draughts that had been put into their hands. This work, so far as then required, was finished on March 25th. But on the 18th the meetings of the general congregations, or committees of the whole, were resumed, and have been held since then on the 22d, 23d, 24th, 26th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st of March,

and April 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 12th and 19th.

The business of the council has entered on a new stage. Our readers will remember that early in December last, the first draught or *schema* on matters of faith was placed in the hands of the bishops; and that after some weeks of private study it was taken up for discussion in the general congregation held on the 28th of December. In our second article we gave some account of the character of this discussion in which no less than thirty-five of the prelates took part. At its conclusion the draught was referred for ememdations to the special committee or deputation on matters of faith, to which were also sent full reports of all the discourses in the discussion. This committee held many meetings, and went over the whole matter two or three times with the utmost care, hearing the authors of the draught, and weighing the arguments and observations made in the general congregations. They divided the *schema* or draught into two parts, and now reported back the first part amended, containing an introduction and four chapters, with canons annexed.

This new and revised draught, so presented to the bishops—in print, of course, as are all the conciliar documents—was again to be submitted to a renewed discussion and examination, first in general on its plan as a whole, and then by parts, first on the introduction, and then successively on each of the four chapters which composed it. A member of the deputation or committee on faith opened the discussion by speaking as the organ of the committee, and ex-

plaining and upholding what they had done. Many other fathers took part in the lively discussions which followed. The speeches were very brief and to the point, only one of them exceeding half an hour, and several not lasting more than five minutes. Those who wished to speak sent in their names beforehand to the presiding cardinals, as on former occasions, and were called to the pulpit in their regular order. The spokesman of the committee, or, in fact, any other member, might, during the course of the debate, take the pulpit to give some desired explanation or to reply to a speaker. All who wished to propose further amendments or changes, were required to hand them in, in writing. This the speakers generally did at the conclusion of their discourses.

When at length the discussion on any special part was terminated, that portion of the *schema* and all the proposed amendments were referred again to the committee. The amendments were printed, and a few days after, in a general congregation, the whole matter would come up for a vote. The committee announced which of the amendments they accepted. They stated briefly the reasons for which they were unwilling to accept the others. The fathers then voted on each amendment singly, unless, indeed, as sometimes happened, the author, satisfied with the explanation or replies given, asked leave to withdraw it.

This chapter or portion of the *schema* was then again printed with the amendments that had been thus adopted; and it was again submitted as a whole to the vote of the fathers.

All these votes were taken without unnecessary expenditure of time. When a question was proposed, all in the affirmative were called on to rise, and to remain standing until their number was ascertained. They then sat down, and all in the negative were in their turn summoned to rise, and to remain standing until they were counted.

As there are usually over seven hundred prelates present and voting, it is clear that if the numbers on each side are nearly even, there might be some difficulty in settling the vote. But the circumstance did not occur. It so happened that on every vote the majority was so preponderating in numbers that an actual count was not necessary. It is said that only on one occasion they were nearly evenly divided. The important question happened to be whether the insertion of a certain comma between two words in the text before them would make the sense more distinct or not. The division of the sentiment on so small a matter caused some amusement; but it was evidence of the painstaking care with which even the minutest points are scrutinized.

When the introduction and each one of the chapters, with its accompanying canons, had been thus separately passed on, the entire *schema* as a whole was submitted to the fathers for a more solemn and decisive vote.

This was first done in the congregation of the 12th, in the following manner: The secretary from the lofty pulpit called the prelates one after the other, according to their rank and their seniority, naming each one by his ecclesiastical title.

The cardinals presiding were called first, the other cardinals next, then the patriarchs, the primates, the archbishops, the bishops, the mitred abbots and the superiors of the various religious orders and congregations having solemn vows. As each prelate was called he rose in his place, bowed to the assembly and voted. The form was *Placet,* if he approved entirely; *Placet juxta modum,* if there were any minor point of which he was unwilling to approve; or *Non Placet,* if he disapproved. In the second case he handed in a written statement of his opinion and vote on that point, and assigned the reasons which moved him to this special view. The assessors of the council immediately received their manuscripts, and delivered them to the presiding legates. As the name of each one was called, two or three of the officials, stationed here and there in the hall, repeated with clear, bell-like voices the form of words used by the prelate in voting, so that all might hear them, and that no mistake could be committed as to anyone's vote. The whole procedure occupied about two hours. When it was over, the votes were counted before all, and the result declared. This was in reality the most solemn and formal voting of the bishops on the matter so far before them. Each one's judgment is asked, and he must give it. It was evident the bishops voted after mature study, and with an evident singleness and simplicity of heart before God.

The special matters urged in the written and conditional votes were again, and for the last time, examined by the committee on matters of

faith, who reported the result of their discussion in the congregation of April 19th, and the precise form of words was settled, to be decreed and published in the third public session, which will be held on Low Sunday.

It thus appears that nothing will be put forth by the council without the fullest study and examination.

1. The schemata, or draughts, as presented to the council, are the result of the studies and conferences of able theologians of Rome, and of every Catholic country.

2. The schema is subjected to a thorough debate before the general congregation, or committee of the whole, or under the by-laws, it is placed in the hands of each one of the bishops, and everyone who thinks it proper gives in writing his remarks on it, and proposed his amendments.

3. The *schema,* and these remarks and proposed amendments, are carefully considered by the deputation to whom they are referred, whose office it is to prepare for the council a revised and amended draught. The twenty-four members of the deputation are picked men, and the examination and discussion of the subjects by them has proved to be all that the fathers looked for—most thorough and searching.

4. Again, on their revised report, the matter is a second time brought before the general committee, and is again discussed by the fathers, who are at liberty still to propose further changes and amendments. As a matter of fact, these turn

mostly on minute details and on forms of expression.

5. Again, in the light of those proposed amendments, it is examined and discussed by the committee, who make their final report, accepting or not accepting the several amendments, and assigning to the congregation the reasons for their decision on each point. They thus enjoy the privilege of closing the debate.

6. Then follows the voting. One portion of the *schema* is taken up. The amendments touching it, so reported on by the committee, are one by one either adopted or rejected, and then the whole portion is passed on. One after the other, the remaining portions are taken up, and acted on in the same manner. The amendments are first disposed of one by one, and then each portion is separately voted on. Finally, all the parts as separately adopted are put together, and on the whole *schema* so composed, a more solemn vote is taken by ayes and noes.

This concludes the, so to speak, consultative action of the council on that *schema*. It is now ready for a solemn enactment and promulgation in the next session of the council.

The time is approaching when the first portion of the decisions and decrees of the Vatican Council will be given to the world in the third public session, to be held on Low Sunday. Already enough has come to light to let us know the general tenor of what we shall soon hear.

The state of the world, and the errors and evils to be met and condemned in this nineteenth cen-

tury by the Vatican Council, are very different from those which all previous councils were assembled to resist. The heresies then to be encountered, denied this or that doctrine in particular, and erred on one or another point. But they all admitted the existence of God, the reality and truth, at least in a general way, of a revelation from heaven through Christ our Lord, and the obligation of man to receive it, and to be guided by it in belief and practice. Now, the world sees but too many who go far beyond that. Then, so to speak, the outposts were assailed. Now the very citadel of revelation is attacked. Schools of a falsely called philosophy have arisen which, with a pretended show of reasoning, deny the existence of God, of spiritual beings, of the soul of man, and recognize only the existence of physical matter. Or if they speak of God, it is by an abuse of terms, and in a pantheistic sense, holding Him to be only the totality of all existing things, a personification of universal nature; or else, if they wish to be more abstruse or more unintelligible, God is, according to them, the primal being, a vague and indefinite first substance, by the changes, evolutions, emanations, and modifications of which all existing things have come to be as they are. Many are the phases of materialism, pantheism, and theophantism in which German metaphysicians revel, and call it high intellectual culture. The pith of all of them is atheism, the denial of the real existence of God.

The English mind is, or believes itself to be, more practical and matter-of-fact. It does not

wander through the dreamy mazes of German metaphysics. It has no taste for such excursions. But there is a school in England which, under the pretence of respecting facts, reaches practically the same sad results. It tells its disciples of what has been termed the philosophy of the unknowable and unintelligible, and declares that man, possessed only of such limited powers of knowledge as experience proves us to have, cannot conceive, cannot really know, cannot be made to know, anything of God, the self-existent and absolute, eternal, infinitely wise and infinitely perfect, and that these words are merely conventional sounds, in reality meaningless, and conveying no real thought to the mind.

Hence, he is to be held at once the wisest philosopher and most sensible man who discards them altogether, who throws aside all these useless, cloudy, unintelligible subjects, and occupies himself with the immediate and actual world around him, of which alone, through his senses, his experiments and his experiences he can obtain some certain and positive knowledge. This they call independence and freedom of science. In many minds it would be pure atheism, if pure atheism were possible; in many others it has produced, and is producing, a haziness of doubt, and an uncertainty on all these points touching the existence and the attributes of God, which in practice leads to almost the same result.

The French mind is active, acute, sketchy, imaginative, logical and practical. On a minimum quantity of facts or principles it will construct a

vast theory. If facts are too few to support the theory, imagination can readily supply all that are lacking. The theory, if logically consistent, must be reduced to practice; opponents must stand aside or be crushed down. The theory must rule. From the days of Voltaire, if not before, France has seen men deny religion under the guise of teaching philosophy. The sarcasms, and at times the brilliancy of their writings, have made French authors the storehouse from which infidels in other nations draw their weapons. Too full of confidence in their powers of mind to accept the English system, and to acknowledge there is any subject they cannot master; too impressionable and practical to live in the cloud of German metaphysical pantheism, the French philosophers are prone to deify man, instead of universal nature. Whether they follow Comte, or whether they devise some other theory, it is generally man they place on the throne of the Deity. This worship of man, this spirit of humanitarianism, and this belief in the progressive and indefinite perfectibility of mankind, which they hold apart from and in antagonism to the belief which worships God as the Creator and Sovereign Lord, and places man the creature subject to him, runs practically through many a phase of their character in modern times.

These three systems—of course more or less commingled in their sources—have been extended to every portion of the civilized world. The German system has passed into Denmark, Holland and Sweden; the French into Italy, Spain and

Portugal, and in some measure through them, into South America.

In the United States we have been comparatively free from them. We owe it, probably, to the fact that with us all men are so busy trying to amass fortunes that they have little time and less taste for such abstruse speculations. On the whole, the bulk of our people have a firm, unshaken belief in the real truth of Christianity as a revealed religion. Although very often men are exceedingly puzzled to know what are the specific doctrines, still they have not lost the traditions of their fathers, and have not fallen into positive unbelief. How long these words will remain true, who can tell? Luxury, and the general demoralization becoming so familiar, and the systematically defective education of our youth will soon perhaps place us in the van of those nations who seem to have been given up to the foolishness of their hearts.

Meanwhile the Church knows that she is debtor to all—that her mission is to preach the Gospel of Christ to all nations. Seeing in what manner so many are going astray, so far as even to deny the God that made them and redeemed them, and knowing that He has sent her as a messenger from Him to them, she raises her voice, and, in clear, steady, clarion tones that will ring through the world, she proclaims again that He is the one true God, eternal and almighty, the Creator whom all men must know and must serve, and unto whom they will all have to render a strict account. This assembled council is itself evidence, clear as the

noonday light, of her existence, and her office in the world. Men may not shut their eyes to the fact. Her words are clear: "He whom ye deny, exists, and speaks to you through me. He whom ye scoff at is your Creator and Lord, from whom ye have received all that ye have. He whom ye deride, is long-suffering, and wills not your death, but that ye repent and come to Him. Through me He admonishes, He invites, He warns you."

Will these men hearken to her voice, or, rather, the voice of God through her? Does not the God they would deny give, as it were, sensible testimony of His existence, His power and His authority, evidence which they cannot ignore or overlook save by a wilful and deliberate effort on their part? They cannot fail to see the Church claiming to be His. Her unbroken existence through eighteen centuries, and her continued growth and advance despite opposition, and, still more, despite the quiet natural forces of all human agency, external and internal, which under the ordinary laws of human things would have sufficed to disrupt and to destroy her a hundred times, an existence and a growth which could have proceeded only from a supernatural power, and which constitute a standing miracle in the history of the world, demand their attention and their respect. Her claim to be divinely founded and divinely supported, they must not scout with flippancy. They must at least receive it with respect, and examine its grounds.

The most solemn assembly of that Church, the most imposing assembly the world has looked

on, an assembly authorized by the organization which He gave to that Church, and, therefore, authorized by Him, speaks to them in His name and by His authority. Will they receive the message, or will they turn away? Some there are who would not believe, if one rose from the dead. But we may hope and pray that others will hearken to the words of the Lord, and learn that to know and fear the Lord is the beginning of true wisdom. Above all, we may hope that many who have not yet advanced too far on the dangerous road, may become aware of their danger and their folly, and return to the paths of true and salutary doctrine.

Next to those who, following the systems we have indicated, or on any other grounds pretend to do away with the existence of God, come those who admit His existence, but do not admit that He has given a revealed religion to mankind. It is unnecessary to go over the various groups into which they may be divided. There always have been, and will be, men who will try by one huge effort to throw off the yoke of religion. And what is there for doing which, men will not try to assign some reason? In the last century, and the early portion of the present one, men sought such reasons in the alleged contradictions of the Scriptures, in the mysteriousness of Christian doctrine and the inability of the human intellect to comprehend them, in the procrustean systems of ancient history which they invented, or in the alleged defects of the evidences of Christianity, or, finally, in their pet theories of metaphysics. At present

the tendency is to base the rejection of revealed religion on its alleged incompatibility with the discoveries of natural sciences in these modern days. Geology, anthropology, in fact, the natural sciences with scarcely an exception, have been in turn laid under contribution or forced to do service against the cause of revelation. We have men appealing to this or that principle or fact as an irrefragable evidence by modern science of the false pretentions of Christianity.

To all such the church, the pillar and ground of truth, the organ of Christ our Lord on earth, will speak. It is not her office to enter into the detailed discussion of scientific studies, and to make manifest the errors of fact into which these men have fallen, or the fallacy of their deductions. This she leaves to scholars who, in their pursuit of earthly science, do not cast away the knowledge they have received of divine truth. Such Christian scholars have replied to the sneers, and gibes, and sarcasms of the last century, and have shown the utter worthlessness and absurdity of the arguments then brought forward against Christianity by men who claimed to speak on the part of science; and there are now others answering with equal fulness the more modern objections. The Church might, indeed, have left it to time and the progress of learning and science to vindicate her course, and to refute the objections raised against her teaching. For, as a matter of fact, the grand difficulties brought forward half a century ago, excite but a smile now, as we see on what an unsubstantial foundation they rested.

And a very few years to come will, we may be sure, suffice to overturn many a pet theory of to-day, with its vaunted arguments against revelation. New discoveries will lead to new theories, that may or may not give rise to a new crop of difficulties, for man's mind is limited, and cannot reach the truth on all sides, but the champions of religion will consign the present difficulties to the tomb of the Capulets. To that tomb generation after generation of these so-called scientific objections are passing. The Church does not undertake to teach astronomy, geology, chemistry or physics. Natural sciences are to be studied by man, in the use of his own reason and the exercise of his natural faculties. These things God has left to the disputations of men. The Church does not despise these discussions and researches. She does not repress them nor oppose them. Quite the contrary. She has ever protected and fostered science.

One of the most beautiful and instructive chapters in her earthly history would be that which tells how, from the school of Alexandria, in the days of persecution, down the entire course of ages, she has ever sought to promote and foster science. She may with pride point to her canons and laws enacted for this purpose in every century. She may recount the long catalogue of schools, colleges and universities established by her in every civilized land of Europe, and wherever she planted her foot; and to the religious houses of her clergy throughout the stormy middle ages, the chief, almost the only safe homes of

learning. Many of the universities which she founded have in the course of ages been destroyed by kings and nobles, who filled their own purses, or repaired their wasted fortunes, by the seizure of endowments given for the free education of all that might come to drink of these fountains of learning.

What university was ever suppressed by any act of hers? None. She encourages science. But at the same time she says, "God has given man reason and understanding to seek after and to attain knowledge. It is a great and noble gift, to be prized and used rightly, and not turned to an evil purpose. If a father place in the hands of his son, as a gift, a weapon keen and bright, shall that son, with parricidal hand, turn the blade against his father? Beware not to turn these gifts of God against God Himself. Use them not as pretexts to deny His existence, or to shake off His authority, or to impugn His truth when He speaks."

In giving this admonition the Church is acting in her full right. She is in the certain possession of that higher divine truth which her heavenly Founder has placed in her charge, to be carefully guarded and preserved until the end of time, and to be ever faithfully preached. The Church, holding with certainty this divine deposit of the revealed truth, must not be compared, either in theory or in practice, with any private individual or society of individuals, who hold and profess religious doctrines on the authority of their own reason and judgment, or of their private interpretation of the Scriptures. In such

a case of this, these doctrines are simply beliefs, opinions of men avowedly liable to error in this very matter. They, therefore, stand on the same level as to the certainty or uncertainty of being true, with the other human judgments in the fields of natural science or human knowledge which may rise up in opposition to them. The two sides are fairly matched, and either may ultimately prevail.

But, on the contrary, the Church claims not merely to hold opinions, but, under the guiding light of the Holy Ghost, to have certain and infallible knowledge of the truths of divine revelation. Nothing that contradicts these established and known truths can she admit to be anything else than error. In the contest between them, the truth must prevail. This is the theory on which the Catholic Church stands, and in which, in reality, all Christianity is involved. The experience of eighteen centuries confirms it fully in practice. Never once in all that period has the Church of Christ had to revoke a single doctrinal decision, on the ground that what was believed to be true when uttered, has since been proved to be false as the progress of science has thrown fuller light on the subject.

In the early days of her existence, Celsus and the other philosophers of that classical period raised manifold objections from reason and such knowledge of nature as they possessed. Their objections accorded well with the public opinion of the time, and were hailed with applause. But the time came when they were felt to be of no force, and now they are entirely for-

gotten; and the truth they impugned, and were intended to overthrow, stands stronger than ever. The Gnostics, with their varied and fanciful systems of conciliating the power and goodness of God with the presence of evil in the world, and guided, if we listen to their boasts, by the highest light of man's reason, brought forward many objections, then deemed specious. They and their arguments, too, have passed away, and the Catholic truth stands. So it has been in every age until the present time.

Christ has protected His Church, so that she shall make no false decision as to faith. It is only in virtue of that protection that she claims the paramount authority to speak. Under it she has been appointed to speak, and must speak, if she would not be recreant to her duty. She does not repress science; she saves it. She does not shackle reason; she preserves it from error and ruin. How often is the way of science a narrow ridge, with deep gulfs on either side! Feeble man walks along the narrow crest with trembling limbs, or crawls on dubiously and slowly, in the dark. The Church of Christ cheers him on. She does not bear him over the perilous path; but holds aloft the torch of revealed truth to guide him as he advances, and warns him to proceed by its light, and not to rush heedlessly on, lest he fall into the abyss.

And yet should we not expect that the same spirit of insubordinate pride which leads reason to deny the existence of God, or His Divine Providence, or the fact of divine revelations, or embold-

ens feeble, ignorant man to measure, as it were, his feeble intelligence against the infinite wisdom of God, should also not refrain from charging the Catholic Church with being an incubus on the human mind, with narrowing the intellect and fettering the reason, with restricting our liberty of thought, narrowing the field of science, and dwarfing the whole intellectual man?

But time does her justice. She can point to Origen, Clement of Alexandria, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Thomas of Acquin, St. Anselm, Duns Scotus, Suarez, Vasquez, and the mighty minds of the past. She may point to her children, clergymen and laymen, now standing in the front ranks of every branch of science. What the past ages gave, what the present gives, too, the future will as surely not fail to bestow.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN. CHAPTER IV.

HOLY Week in Rome! How many Christian hearts have yearned for it, have looked forward to it in hope! How many recall it among the sweetest and most precious memories of the past! In this sacred city, and in this most solemn season, a spell is thrown around the faithful pilgrim; or, rather, he is released in a great measure from the delusive spells of the world. Mind and heart, and, we might also say, the body, too, seem to live in a new world, in which the all-absorbing thought and affair is the grand mystery of what God has done in His infinite power and love to redeem this fallen race of men.

What emotions must fill the Catholic heart as, after perhaps a long and weary journey, one is rapidly borne on by the train from Civita Vecchia, and knows at last that within one hour he will be in Rome. The yellow Tiber is flowing by the railway track, sluggishly and silently, on to the sea. At intervals antique-looking barges, with high-peaked prows and high stems, are floating down, heavily laden with boxes of statuary and of marbles, or of other works of art—it may be, of books or of baggage. A couple of oars suffice to keep

the vessel in mid-channel, or to accelerate its motion. Perhaps, if the course of the sinuous river allows it, a huge lateen sail on a heavy stump of a mast helps it onward. Perchance, too, a tiny steamer meets him, puffing its way downward; or the train overtakes another vessel breasting the stream and towing up three or four barges, each larger than itself. The eye travels across the classic river, and roams over the rolling surface of the campagna, and takes note of the many ruins that dot its surface, mostly relics of the mausoleums and massive tombs with which the Romans of old were wont to line their roads leading from the city for miles and miles. At length Rome is at hand; across the Tiber you see the new St. Paul's *extra muros,* rising like a phoenix after the conflagration of 1823, and not yet entirely finished. The great apostle was buried here after his martyrdom. Here his body has ever been venerated. Some day, you may come hither, and in the splendor of that church look down into the *confession* to catch a glimpse of the interior of the underground crypt, and the sarcophagus within it, in which lie his mortal remains, and read the large letters on it, *Paullus Apostolus Martyr,,* "Paul the Apostle and Martyr." On the lofty summit of the front, plainly visible, is the gigantic statue of the apostle himself, bearing the emblematic sword —as if standing sentinel and guarding the approach to the Holy City, which he consecrated by his preaching and his death.

Soon you are on the bridge over the stream, and all eyes are turned to the left, where above

the city walls, now visible, and the roofs of the houses, and the cupolas of many churches, you see for a moment or two the majestic dome of St. Peter's towering over all. The road runs around the walls of the city for some distance before entering, and St. Peter's is soon shut out from view, only to be replaced by the majestic front of St. John Lateran's, near at hand. But on the other side you see more clearly than before the campagna with its multitude of ruins, and the Sabine and Alban Mountains. In the clear atmosphere you can distinguish the vineyards and olive groves, and dark forests, and cities and towns and pleasant villas. Along the campagna, from the foot of these hills, there stretches for miles on miles, like a huge centipede, a long line of dark and jagged masonry, borne aloft on massive piers and arches. It is an old aqueduct, or, as your guide-book tells you, three aqueducts in one. You dash through one of those arches, and the panorama is changed.

Other mountains in the distance, with other cities and towns, other ruins on the campagna—the ancient basilicas of St. Lawrence and St. Agnes near at hand. At length you pass through an archway of the wall into the city. St. John Lateran's is again before you. Not far distant is the Church of Santa Croce; and St. Mary Major's, with its cupolas, its mediæval belfry, and its obelisk, is even nearer. The balmy breeze of the afternoon brings to your ear the sweet chime of its many bells. You are on the Quirinal hill, and can look over some portion of the city, with its belfries, and

cupolas, its red-tiled roofs, and many windowed houses. Near by are massive ruins. The excavations of the railway track have unearthed broken columns, frescoed walls of ancient rooms, and masses of travertino masonry, belonging to the walls which Servius Tullius, the fifth king of Rome, built around the city.

Issuing from the depot to seek your hotel, you are at once before the ruins of the baths of Dioclesian, and the Cistercian Abbey, and the Church of St. Mary degli Angeli. Your way leads by churches, palaces, ruins, obelisks, statues and ever-gushing fountains, through a maze of narrow streets with sharp turns. You understand that these streets were not laid out and the houses built on clear ground. The houses stand more or less on the foundations of older buildings that have perished, and follow, to a limited extent, the course of those fondations. As for the streets, they do as they can, under the circumstances, and seldom have the same breadth and direction for three hundred yards at a time. Everything tells you of olden heathen Rome that has perished, and of a new Rome that has risen in its place, not to be compared to its predecessor in size or in earthly magnificence, but infinitely superior in spiritual and moral grandeur.

Without an hour's unnecessary delay you seek St. Peter's. A glance of wonder at the vastness and majesty of its approaches, of its front, and its portals, is all you will give now; for the heart is filled with a sense of that glory of which all this, great as it is, is but a figure. You pass through

the vestibule, large as a magnificent cathedral, push aside the heavy curtain before the inner door, and you are within the grand basilica. The light is evenly diffused and soft, and comes through unseen windows. The temperature is pleasant. If outside you found the day cold and unpleasant, here the atmosphere seems warm and agreeable. If outside it was hot, here you feel it cool and refreshing. As you look at the vast expanse of the building, you wonder at the solitude. It seems almost vacant; although, if you could count them, there are hundreds moving about, or kneeling here and there in silent prayer, and scores are entering or going out. As you advance up the broad and lofty central nave there come from a chapel on the left the rolling sounds of an organ, and the chorus of many voices, as canons are chanting the daily vespers in their own chapel.

Further on, from the other side, you hear the murmuring of many voices. A long line of pilgrims, or members of some confraternity, have come in procession to pray in St. Peter's; and as they kneel before the altar, perhaps a hundred devout men and women from the parish, or those accidentally in the church, have gathered around them and have knelt and joined in their chanted hymns and prayers. On still you proceed, until you are beneath the lofty dome itself, and have approached the oval railing of marble which is united to the grand altar, and on which ever burn a hundred and forty-two lamps. You look over into the opening in the marble pavement, which is called *the confession* of St. Peter's, and you

see below the floor of the ancient church, and immediately under the present high altar stands the chief altar of that church. Though you do not see it, you know that still deeper, and below that altar, is a small chamber in the earth whose floor and sides and arched roof are all of large blocks of dressed stone—travertino—and that in that vaulted chamber stands the marble sarcophagus which contains the remains of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, the founder and the first bishop of Rome, who was crucified under Nero, in the year 67, on the hill near by, and whom pious Christian hands reverently buried in this very spot, ever since sacred to the followers of Christ. Then it was an obscure spot, outside the city, near certain brickyards on the Aurelian Way. Now it is covered by the grandest temple which the world ever saw on which all that man can give is offered and consecrated to the service of religion and the glory of God.

A poor, humble, simple-minded fisherman on the Lake of Genesareth, in Galilee, whom men called Simon, was chosen by our Lord; his name was changed to Peter, a rock—for on that rock the Church of Christ would be built; to him were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and he was charged with the duty of confirming his brethren in the faith. At the command of his Lord, and in the power of the divine commission, he went forth to his work of zeal and of trials. Like his divine Master, poor, persecuted, crucified, he was the instrument of God for mighty things. Empires and kingdoms have perished;

but the Church still stands. Dynasties have succeeded dynasties, and have passed away like the shadows of clouds in spring; but the line of successors of St. Peter continues unbroken. The intellect and study, the passions, the violence, and the inconsistency of men have changed all things human, again and again, within eighteen centuries; but there remaineth *one* Lord, *one faith, one baptism,* one Church of Christ, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. And here, today, you stand at the earthly center of that spiritual kingdom, by the tomb of him to whom Christ gave promises which must ever stand true, though heaven and earth pass away. You cannot but kneel and pray with all the fervor of your heart, taking no account of others near you, nor of the passage of time. And when at length earnest prayer has brought calm and holy joy to your soul, you may rise and look up into the dome, rising four hundred feet above you, with mosaics of evangelists, and prophets, and angels, archangels, and all the grades of the celestial host, until in the summit, amid a blaze of light, the "Ancient of Days" looks down from heaven, in power and majesty, blessing the worshippers of earth, and bending forward to receive the prayers of all who come to this holy and consecrated temple to pour forth their supplications and entreat His mercy.

You may examine the grandiose proportions of nave and transept and aisle, the mosaics, and marbles, and statues, and saints; you may go forth into the vast vestibule guarded at one extremity by an equestrian statue of Constantine; and at

the other by one of Charlemagne; you may linger, as you look again at the mighty square in front of the basilica, with its magnificent ever-flowing fountains, so typical of the waters of life, its colonnades stretching away hundreds of yards on either side, like arms put forth to embrace the multitudes of the children of men, and the lofty, needle-form Egyptian obelisk in the center pointing toward heaven. On its summit is a bronze casket, containing a portion of the true cross on which the Saviour suffered death; and at the base is an inscription, brief in words, and here most sublime in its appositeness. Your heart takes in the full meaning as you read, *Christ reigns; Christ rules; Christ has conquered. May Christ defend us from every ill.*

This is the spirit, the keynote, as it were, of Christian Rome. We might say, also, that it is the animating principle of her temporal existence. For, save as the center of the Catholic Church and the See of Peter, Rome would quickly perish. On the hills of the campagna and on the slopes of the mountains around, may still be seen faint vestiges of cities and towns that were illustrious, centuries before Rome was founded. They have utterly perished. Others of the same class seem to drag out a lingering existence, as obscure villages, of no importance, whose names no one mentions, and whose ancient history is known only to antiquarians. Many a desert, forest, or plain can show ruins to rival those of the seven hills. Florence, and many a modern city, can boast of galleries of the fine arts and museums to rival, if

not to surpass, most of those in Rome. No, it is not for her antiquity, nor for her grand ruins of past ages, nor for her painting and sculpture, her marbles and mosaics, that Rome stands unrivalled in the world. These are but accessories. Neither they nor any mere human gift can suffice to explain the mystery of her survival, despite so many convulsions and shocks, and her continued and prosperous existence, where all around her has sunk into decay and ruin. Were there no other course of life, these would soon fail her. The treasures of art and antiquity in her galleries, and museums, and public buildings would soon be shattered by spoliation or conquest, and she would be left desolate and stricken like her crumbling ruins.

It is the moral power of Christianity which gives her a life and a strength beyond that of the sword. It is the presence of that Pontiff who is the visible head of the Church, and the center of Catholic unity and of spiritual authority, which saves her from the fate of other cities. Her true source of life is her religious position. When, centuries ago, the Popes, wearied out by the tumults of the people and the turbulence of the barons, withdrew for peace sake, and abode for seventy years in Avignon, Rome dwindled down to a little better than a village of ten or fifteen thousand souls. The Romans spoke of that time as a Babylonian captivity. With the return of the Pontiff prosperity was again restored.

When, in the early part of the present century, Pius VII was borne away and held captive

for years in France, and Rome was annexed to the French empire, the population of the city quickly sank to one hundred and thirteen thousand, and was rapidly diminishing. When he returned, in 1814, it began to rise again, and today Rome has nearly doubled that population. Were the Sovereign Pontiff to be driven into exile tomorrow, Rome would again, and at once, enter on a downward career of misery and ruin. In twenty years she would lose all her treasures and half of her population. All this is clear to the Romans themselves; all the more clear from the fate which has overtaken those cities of the states of the Church which were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, eight or ten years ago.

But we must not wander away into such considerations. That theme, though most important to the Romans and often on their lips, is of too worldly a character. For this month, at least, we leave it aside, and join that immense crowd of strangers who have filled Rome, drawn hither to look on the council, and to unite in the solemn offices of Holy Week, more solemn and imposing this year than perhaps ever before, on account of the vast number of bishops uniting in their celebration.

Once the German element used to stand prominent before all others in the crowd of strangers that flocked to Rome for Holy Week; afterward the English, and latterly the Americans became conspicuous. This year, although they were probably as numerous as ever, they seemed to sink into the background before the vast number of French who filled the Holy City, and who, almost

without exception, had come in the spirit of earnest, fervent Catholics. They were fully as numerous and fully as demonstrative as at the centenary celebration in 1867. Their coming was announced by the ever-increasing numbers who, each day that a general congregation of the council was held, gathered at St. Peter's at half-past eight A. M., to see the bishops enter, or at one P. M., to see them come forth from the council hall.

In ordinary times the Pope and cardinals celebrate nearly all the offices of Holy Week, not in St. Peter's, which is left to the canons and clergy of that basilica, but in the Sixtine chapel, which is the Pope's court chapel, so to speak, within the Vatican palace. It is as large as a modern American church. About one-half is railed off as a sanctuary for the Pontiff, and the cardinals and their attendants, and for the other clergymen who are required, or are privileged, to attend the services in this chapel. The remaining half, assigned to the laity, will hold four or five hundred seated or standing, as the case may be. The number desiring to enter is so great that often a seat can be obtained only by coming two or three hours before the time for commencing the services. This year, if the bishops were to be present, the whole chapel would have to be used as a sanctuary, and no room would remain for any of the laity. To avoid this embarrassment, and the consequent disappointment of thousands, it was settled that this year the papal services of Holy Week should be celebrated, not in this Sixtine chapel, but in St. Peter's itself, where, besides all the bishops, ten

thousand others might attend, and seem only a moderate-sized crowd grouped close to the sanctuary.

To St. Peter's, then, on Palm Sunday morning came the papal choir, and half a thousand bishops, archbishops, primates and patriarchs, the cardinals, with their attendants, and the Holy Father himself, for the blessing of the palms and the other services of the day. They were substantially the same as the services in ten thousand other churches of the Catholic world that day. But here there were, of course, a splendor and magnificence that could be rivalled nowhere else. The palms to be blessed lay in masses regularly arranged near the throne of the Pontiff. They seemed scarcely to differ from the branches of our Southern palmetto. On many of them the long leaves were fancifully plaited, so as to represent a branch surrounded by roses, lilies, leaves and crosses. The Catholic negroes that came to the United States from San Domingo years ago used to do something similar.

There is an interesting story about these palms. On the 10th of September, 1586, Fontana, the architect and engineer of St. Peter's, was to lift to its present position in the middle of the square before St. Peter's the immense unbroken mass of stone which formed an Egyptian obelisk that had been erected in the amphitheatre of Nero, and still stood not far off, its base buried in the earth that centuries had accumulated around it. It was a mighty, a perilous work, to transport this obelisk three hundred yards, ever keeping it in its upright

position, and at the end to lift it up and plant it on the lofty pedestal. Pope Sixtus V and all Rome were there to look on. In default of steam engines and hydraulic rams, not then invented, Fontana used a high scaffolding, ropes, blocks and tackle, and windlasses and hundreds of operatives. Any mistake or confusion as to orders or delay in executing them might overthrow the immense pillar, and prove disastrous to the work, and fatal, perhaps, to scores of lives. In view of the emergency, a kind of military law was proclaimed, whereby all lookers-on were to keep silence, under penalty of death. Fontana, standing aloft, gave his orders, the wheels were turned, the ropes tightened, the mighty mass slowly moved on, the pedestal was reached. The obelisk was lifted up. Hours rolled on, and still it rose gradually, but truly. At length it stood within a few feet of its destined position. But it would go no farther. The ropes bearing the strain of the weight for so many hours had stretched, and some were threatening to snap. Fontana stood pale and speechless at the impending disaster, which he now saw no way of averting. Suddenly a clear, manly voice was heard from out of the crowd, "Wet your ropes! Wet your ropes!" Fontana at once seized the happy thought. The ropes were wetted, swelled and contracted to their original state, and soon the hugh obelisk stood upright and firm on the solid pedestal, and the daring work was crowned with complete success. Meanwhile the officers had seized the man that cried out; he was brought before the Pope, who thanked him and

embraced him. He was asked who he was, and what reward he desired. His name was Bresca, a sailor from San Remo, near Nice. His family owned a palm grove there, and the reward he asked was the privilege of supplying St. Peter's every year forever with the palm branches to be blessed and used on Palm Sunday. It was granted. Nearly three centuries have passed, but the family of Bresca is still at San Remo, has still palm groves, and every year there comes a small vessel from that port laden with the palm branches for St. Peter's. May it continue to come three hundred years hence.

The Holy Father, in that clear, sweet and majestic voice, for which he is remarkable, chanted the prayers for the blessing of the palms. To the blessing succeeded the distribution. One after another the cardinals gravely advanced, the long silk trains of their robes rustling on the carpets as they moved forward; each one receiving a palm branch; the oriental patriarchs, the primates and a number of the archbishops and bishops, as representatives of their brethren, followed after the cardinals, and received each his branch. Meanwhile the choir was singing the exquisite anthem, "*Pueri Hebraeorum,*" appointed for that occasion. It was a simple, yet a most effective and thrilling scene. The cardinals stood in their long line, the rich gold ornamentation of their chasubles shining brightly on the violet silk; on their heads, the mitre or the red calotte of their rank. Before each one stood his chaplain in dark purple, holding the decorated palm

branch like a lance. In the middle, as the lines of Oriental and Latin prelates, in their rich and varied robes, approached the Holy Father, or retired, each one bearing his palm branch, there was a perpetual changing and shifting and intermingling of colors, as in a kaleidoscope. Near the Pope stood the senator and other civil officers of Rome, in their mediæval mantles. The Swiss Guard, in a military dress of broad stripes, red and yellow, or black and yellow, some of them wearing steel corselets and breastplates, and all wearing the plumed Tyrolean military hat; stood motionless as statues, holding their bright halberds upright. The Noble Guard, in their rich uniform, stood here and there; and on both sides, line after line of bishops, robed in cappa magnas, formed a massive and imposing background. Add to all these the religious orders, Carmelites, Dominicans, Franciscans of every family; Augustinians, Benedictines, Cistercians, Canons Regular, Theatines, Servites, Crociferi and many others, each in the costume of his order or congregation, and all bearing branches of blessed palm. Add still the continuous chanting of those unrivalled voices and the indistinct bass murmur or rustling of the vast crowd. It was a scene which carried one away. You did not strive to catch every note of Palestrina's beautiful composition. It was enough to drink in the sound. You scarcely thought of reciting the words of prayer —there are none assigned for the time of distribution specifically—you found it easier to

indulge a train of devotional thought, and to unite with it something of pious admiration.

Next followed the procession in commemoration of the solemn entry of our Saviour into Jerusalem, five days before His Passion. Leaving the sanctuary, the long lines of singers, of the religious orders, of bishops and prelates, and of cardinals, and finally the Pope with his attendants, passed down the nave of the church, out by one door into the vestibule, and, returning by another into the church, again came up the nave and entered the sanctuary. The strains of the "*Gloria, Laus, et Honor,*" the hymn for the procession, always beautiful, and infinitely more so when sung today by this choir, swelled as the procession approached you, became fainter and sweeter as it passed on. You caught but a faint murmur of melody while they were in the vestibule, and the notes rose again as the procession entered the church and moved slowly onward to the sanctuary.

Then came the high mass, which an archbishop celebrated, by special permission, at the high altar. Without such permission no one save the Holy Father himself celebrates there. During the mass the entire history of the Passion of our Lord, as given in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is sung. On Good Friday the same history is sung, as given by St. John. Perhaps no portion of the chants of the Church in use at the present day is as ancient and venerable as the mode in which the Passion is chanted. The old classic Greek style is preserved, and, fundamentally at least,

the melody must be Grecian, although perhaps somewhat changed to suit our modern gamut. The ordinary mode is to distribute the whole among three singers, one of whom chants all the narrative or historical portion. Whenever the Saviour speaks, a second singer chants His words. A third singer comes in at the proper time to chant whatever is said by others. In the Sixtine chapel, and here on St. Peter's day there is a slight change made, which, from its appropriateness and effective character, we cannot but look on as in part, at least, a return toward the original idea of such a chant. One singer, an exquisite tenor, took up the narrative portion in a *recitativo,* closing each sentence with the modulations with which many of our readers must be well acquainted. A baritone voice, one of the richest, smoothest, most majestic and most plaintive and sympathetic we ever heard, chanted the Saviour's part. There was not in it a note that we had not heard before scores of times, but never as they were now chanted. One could, it seemed, listen to him forever; when he closed one sentence, your eye ran along the page to mark the verse, at which you would hear him again. As he uttered the words you drank them in, in their sense rather than in the music, realizing something of their pathos and majesty. It was as if in truth you stood near Him in Gethsemane, before Annas, and Caiphas, before Pilate; as if you walked with Him along the sorrowful way, as if you stood so near the cross on Calvary that every word He spoke, every tone of his voice, en-

tered your heart. Years cannot efface from our minds the memory of that wondrous chant. It seems still to ring in our ears. The portions usually assigned to a third singer are here distributed among several, who chant singly, or together, as the words are spoken by one, or by several, or by a multitude. Thus, a soprano and a contralto unite to sing the words of the two false witnesses. The mutual contradiction of the witnesses is indicated by the irregularity of the time, and the discords that are repeatedly introduced. When the crowd cries out, "*Away with him; crucify him; we will have no king but Cæsar,*" the whole choir bursts forth. You hear the trembling shrill tones of age, the hissing words of irate manhood, the shrill trebles of excited women, the full incisive words of the priests, and the clamors of the unthinking rabble. When they cry, "*His blood be upon us and upon our children,*" the voices, full at the beginning, grow tremulous and weaker as they proceed, and some are silent, as if reluctant to pronounce the terrible words of the imprecation. And when the soldiers, after scourging the Saviour and putting on His head the crown of thorns, place the reed in his hands and kneel before him, saluting Him, *Hail, King of the Jews,* the words are sung by three or four voices with a softness, a sweetness and an earnestness which would make you think that, for the moment, and in spite of themselves, they felt the divine truth of the words they intended to utter in mockery.

In the entire circle of music there is nothing so

sublime and so touching as the Passion of our Lord, sung by the papal choir in St. Peter's.

On Tuesday, in Holy Week, a general congregation of the council was held in the usual form. The fathers voted on the entire draught, then before them, either *placet, placet juxta modum,* or *non placet.*

On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons the bishops attended in St. Peter's at the office of the Tenebræ. On each occasion twenty-five or thirty thousand persons about half filled the church to hear the lamentations, and, above all, the far-famed *Misereres* heretofore only to be heard in the Sixtine chapel.

The papal choir is composed of about twenty-five singers. Basses, baritones, contraltos, tenors, and sopranos, all chosen voices of the first quality, and all trained for years in the special style of singing of this choir, different from that of any other we ever heard, and in the peculiar traditions as to the precise style in which each of their principal pieces should be executed. They say themselves that without this special training the mere notes of the score would by no means suffice to guide another choir, at least so as to produce the marvellous effects which they attain. They have in their repertory over forty *Misereres,* composed by their different *maestri,* or chiefs, during the last three centuries. Not more than four of these are placed by them in the first rank. On Wednesday that by Baini was sung; on Thursday that by Allegri; and on Friday one by Mustafa, the present leader of the choir.

Besides the artistic excellence which the few trained to analyze and examine such compositions can alone discover and discuss suitably, there is a something about these *Misereres* which all can feel, and which is far more religious in its character. Once enjoyed, it is never forgotten.

As the long office of matins and lauds is slowly chanted, psalm succeeding psalm, and lamentation following lamentation, the lighted candles on the triangular candelabrum are all gradually extinguished save one, and then, one by one, those on the altar. The shades of evening are coming on. The light of day has become almost a twilight, adding a mysterious indefiniteness to the immensity of the vast edifice. Only through the glory, or circular stained window in the apsis of the basilica there comes in a golden light from the western sky. The cardinals and bishops are all kneeling in their places, the multitude of twenty-five thousand that have waited two hours for this moment are hushed to dead silence. A wailing voice is heard—faint, sad, almost bursting into sobs—*Have mercy on me, O God!* Another and another joins in the entreating cry. It swells and rises, sometimes in passionate, loud supplication, sometimes lowered to broken tones, scarce daring to hope, until an angel voice leads on, *According to Thy great mercy.* Verse after verse the wailing, pleading prayer continues in combinations of matchless voices, and in harmonious strains. The multitude listens, suppressing their breathing lest they may lose a single one of the silvery tones. Some are kneeling, others who

have not room to kneel in that closely-packed crowd, stand with their heads sunk on their breasts. All are silent, yet many a moving lip tells you they are repeating the words with the singers, that they may more fully drink in the sense and the appropriateness of the music. When the last verse closes there is a sigh, as if they waked from a trance and found themselves in this life again.

On Thursday, Friday and Saturday there were the usual services in St. Peter's in the forenoon. On the first day the bishops were required to attend in white copes and mitres. A cardinal sang high mass, after which came the usual procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which is conveyed from the main altar to a repository prepared to receive it. This year the chapel of the canons was used for the purpose. Cross and candles and incense led the way. The canons and beneficiaries and other clergy of St. Peter's followed, each one bearing a lighted waxen candle, and responding to the chanted hymns of the choir. A certain number of archbishops and primates came next, and after them the cardinals, all likewise with their lighted tapers. The Pontiff himself bore the Blessed Sacrament, under a rich canopy of gold cloth, upheld on eight staffs of silver gilt, borne by his attendants. Cardinals and clergy, Swiss Guard and Noble Guard walked slowly on either side; the heads of religious orders followed, bearing their lights; and after them, not two and two, as the regular procession had walked, but more closely pressed together, came the hundreds of bishops. The church, at least

the half of it toward the altar, was packed and jammed. Not without some effort had the Swiss and the lines of soldiers kept a small passageway clear for the procession from the main altar to the chapel of the canons. As the sound of the well-known hymn, the *"Pange lingua,"* was recognized, and the procession started, all who could, knelt; those who had not room to do so, bowed reverently until the Pontiff had passed and had entered the chapel, and the *amen* of the closing prayer rang through the church.

At once there was a rushing to and fro of the thirty thousand people in the church, one-half seeking to pass out to the square in front or to ascend to the broad summit of the colonnade on each side of it; for the Pontiff would, in a few minutes, give the solemn pontifical blessing from the loggia, or balcony, over the main door of St. Peter's, the other half took the occasion to occupy the vacant space closer to the main altar, striving to secure the best positions from which to witness, as well as they could, the ceremonies to follow in the sanctuary, after the blessing, and trusting that on Easter Sunday they might be able to behold and to receive the blessing with grander ceremonial than today. The Holy Father and the cardinals came forth from the chapel, and, leaving for a time the basilica by a side door, passed into the Vatican palace, and from thence to the vast hall immediately over the vestibule of St. Peter's. Borne in his curule chair, he advances to the loggia, or open balcony projecting in the middle toward the square, and looks out on

the city, and on the thousands below that kneel as he stands erect, and raising both arms aloft toward heaven, calls down on them the blessing of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The solemn and sweet tones of that majestic voice ring through the square, and the words are heard distinctly by the multitudes. A cardinal reads and publishes the indulgence, and the Pontiff and the cardinals retire.

Back into the church the mass of people come, a living torrent. In twenty minutes the cardinals and the bishops are again in the sanctuary, while the movement and rustling of the moving and struggling crowd fills the church with the sound as of a deep, continuous and subdued bass note. At one side of the large sanctuary, which is about one hundred and thirty feet deep, and seventy-five broad, an ascent of eight or ten steps leads to a broad platform visible to all. On this platform attendants move about, preparing all that is necessary for the next portion of the ceremony, the *mandatum,* or washing of feet. Soon a line of thirteen figures, dressed as pilgrims in long white woollen robes reaching to the instep, ascend to the platform, and the attendants conduct them to the seats that are prepared. They are priests from abroad who have come to Rome, and all eyes are turned to inspect them as they stand ranged in a line. One is an old man stooped with age, with large, piercing dark eyes and heavy eyebrows, long aquiline nose and high cheek bones, and ruddy cheeks. The olive tint of his skin looks darker by contrast with his ample

flowing beard of patriarchal whiteness. He is from the East. Perhaps those two other younger ones, with full black beards, are from the East likewise. To judge by his almond eye, the long and regular features, and the darkish skin, another was an Egyptian. Of a fifth there could be no mistake. He was from Senegambia, in Africa, and his surname was *Zamba,* or, as we call it in America, *Sambo.* His jet black skin, his negro features, the blue spectacles he wore, and his instinctive attitude of dignity made him the most conspicuous in the number. They entered, wearing tall white caps, in shape something like stovepipe hats without any rim, and with a tuft on the summit; long white dresses of the shape you may see in the miniatures of illuminated manuscripts written a thousand years ago; and even their stockings and shoes were white as their dress. As all were ready, the Pontiff enters, and the choir intones the antiphon, "*Mandatum novum*"—"A new command I give you." Some preliminary prayers are chanted, and the Pontiff, putting off the cope, but retaining his mitre, is girded with an apron, and ascends the platform. An attendant unlaces the shoe on the right foot of the first pilgrim, and lets down the stocking. Other attendants present the ewer of water and the towels; the pontiff, stooping down or kneeling, washes the instep, dries it with a towel, and kisses it. While the attendants raise the stocking and lace the shoe, the holy father gives to the pilgrim a large nosegay, which in former times contained a coin to aid him on his journey homeward. He did the

same one by one to all of them. During this touching ceremony, the choir continued to sing anthem after anthem; but few present did more than listen vaguely and enjoy the sound, so preoccupied, or rather so fascinated, all seemed to be by a ceremony so rarely used in the church, and so fully recalling our divine Saviour's act and instruction before the Last Supper. Few have ever seen it in church, save as today here in St. Peter's, on Holy Thursday. It may be said to be carried out, too, on a larger scale and in a practical way, all these days in Rome. There is a large institution here called *La Santissima Trinita dei Pellegrini*, where, during Holy Week, thousands of poor pilgrims, who have come on foot, and reach Rome weary and foot-sore, are received, and supplied with two meals a day and beds for three days and nights. There is one department for the men, and another for the women and children. Each evening, after the conclusion of the services in the churches, they return to the institution. Cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen in numbers, nobles and private individuals, are there, and wash their feet (thoroughly) and wait on them at the table. In the female department princesses, duchesses, and ladies of every degree and station, titled and untitled, are there to perform the same offices for the women and children. All these ladies belong to several charitable confraternities and associations in the city; and by one of their rules no one of them is allowed the privilege of uniting in this work in Holy Week unless she has, during the past year, paid at least a stated number of

charitable visits to the prisons and hospitals. We do not know whether the men have the same admirable rule.

After the washing of the feet in St. Peter's, the Pope retired, and the pilgrims followed. The services in the church itself were over. But there was something else, which as many as could, wished to see. The Pope was to serve the pilgrims at table. In the large hall mentioned above as being situated over the vestibule of the church, and from which the Pope went out to the loggia to give the blessing, a long table had been prepared and decorated. Soon the pilgrims entered and stood at their places; and the hall was filled with thousands of spectators. The Pontiff came in, attended by three or four cardinals, his own attendants, and a number of bishops. He said the grace, and a monsignore read a portion of the Scriptures, and then continued to read a book of sermons. Meanwhile, the pope was passing to and fro, from one end of the table to another, helping each one to soup, to fish, and to wine; and finally, giving them his special blessing, he retired. The services had commenced at 9 A. M.—It was now 2 P. M.

The holy oils were blessed, not in St. Peter's, but in St. John Lateran's; for St. Peter's is the cathedral of the Pope as Pope and Bishop of the Catholic Church. St. John's is his cathedral as Bishop of Rome.

On Friday morning the offices in St. Peter's were precisely the same as in every other cathedral, differing only in the presence of the sovereign pontiff and the cardinals, and the large number

of bishops, who attended, robed in purple *cappa magna*. The *"improperia,"* sung while the Pope, the cardinals, and the bishops approached to kneel and kiss the cròss, is accounted the masterpiece of Palestina. It is unequalled in its expression of tenderness and of sorrowful reproach. Sung as it was by that unrivalled choir, on this day, when the church is desolate and stripped of all ornaments, and the ministers at the altar are robed in sombre black; when burning lights and the smoke of incense are banished from the sanctuary; when one thing only is presented—the image of the crucified Redeemer; one theme only fills prayers, anthems, and hymns alike—the sorrows and death of our Lord on Calvary—its effect seemed overpowering. You thought not of the wondrous charm of the voices; you heeded not the antique melody or the skilful harmonies as word after word, clearly and distinctly uttered, fell on your ear; the music rendered more clear and emphatic their sense, as it sunk into your heart. You felt that the reproaches of the loving and forgiving Saviour were addressed to you personally, and you bowed in sorrowful confusion as well as in adoration, while you saluted him in the words of early Christian worship, *Agios O Theos.*

During the service, that portion of his Gospel in which St. John narrates the history of the Passion, was chanted in the same manner as had been the narration by St. Matthew on the preceding Sunday. Prepared as all were, by the services of the days past and by the sublime *"Improperia"* we had just heard, words cannot express the awe

which came on them as they listened to this vivid recitation in music of that grand drama of Good Friday on the summit of Calvary. It is on such occasions, and with singing like this, that one realizes what force and truth and majesty there is in perfect music, inspired and consecrated by religion.

On Saturday the bishops were divided between St. Peter's and St. John's. In the latter church, besides the usual services, there were also the instruction of the catechumens, the baptism of converts with the form for grown persons, and at the mass, a grand ordination, at which tonsure, all the minor orders, sub-deaconship, deaconship and priesthood were conferred on those who had been examined and found worthy of the grades to which they aspired. In all, they were about sixty.

From Thursday until Saturday all the bells of Rome had been silent. There was a visible shade of sorrow on this city, a public grief, as it were, for the tragedy of Calvary. But in view of the joyous resurrection close at hand, this silence of sorrow is soon to pass away. It was near eleven A. M. when the high mass commenced at St. Peter's. At the Gloria a signal was given, and the gigantic Bourdon and the other bells of the basilica broke into a grand peal. The guns of St. Angelo answered, and, quick as sound could travel, all the thousand bells of all the steeples and belfrys of Rome, without exception, joined in the clamorous, yet not unpleasant or unmusical, chorus. The rooks and ravens, and doves and swallows flew to and fro, frightened from their

nests, half-stunned, and utterly distracted. When the pealing chorus ended—and it lasted for a full half-hour—Rome had put off her sadness, and friends were exchanging the happy salutations of Easter.

In the afternoon an Armenian bishop celebrated high mass, according to his rite, at four P. M. in one church, and, at the same hour, a Chaldean prelate celebrated high mass according to his rite in another. In the earlier centuries this mass of the resurrection was celebrated by all after midnight on Saturday night. The Orientals have brought it forward to Saturday afternoon; the Latins have gradually advanced it to forenoon.

Sunday dawned, a bright, clear, pleasant, cloudless Italian Spring day. At an early hour carriages of every kind were pouring in long lines over every bridge across the Tiber, and hurrying on to St. Peter's, and tens of thousands were making their way thither on foot. By nine o'clock the sanctuary is filled with bishops robed in white copes and mitres, and with cardinals in richly-adorned white chasubles. Soon the Swiss Guard take their places, and the Noble Guard appear in their richest uniform. Lines of Pontifical Zouaves and other soldiers, keep a lane open up the middle of the church, through the immense crowd of, it was estimated, forty thousand persons, from the door of the sanctuary. One tribune on the south side of the sanctuary was filled with members of the various royal families now in Rome, some on a visit, some staying here permanently. On the other side was a tribune for the diplomatic corps,

which was filled with ambassadors, ministers resident and envoys, in their rich uniforms and covered with jewelled decorations.

A burst from the band of silver trumpets over the doorway of the church told us that the Holy Father was entering. Down the lane through the vast crowd might be seen the cross slowly advancing. Then was heard the voice of the choir of the canons, welcoming the Pontiff to the basilica, and then aloft, higher than the mass that filled the church, he was seen slowly borne on in the curule chair, robed in a rich cope of white silk, heavy with gold embroidery and wearing the tiara. Slowly advancing, and giving his blessing to the multitudes on either side, he reached the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, descended from the chair, and, with the cardinals accompanying him, and his other attendants, knelt for some moments in adoration. Then, rising, he ascended the chair again, and the procession pursued its way through the crowd, now more closely packed than ever, to the sanctuary. Here the Pontiff descended again to his robing throne at the epistle side of the altar. The choir commences the chanting of the psalms of *terce* and *sext*. Meanwhile the Pontiff was robed for mass, and the cardinals, the patriarchs and primates, and a certain number of the archbishops and bishops, as representatives of their brethren, paid him the usual homage. This over, solemn high mass commenced in the usual form. After incensing the altar at the Introit, he passed to his regular throne at the end of the sanctuary, just opposite the altar, and fully

one hundred and twenty feet distant. There beside him stood a cardinal priest and two cardinal deacons; the senator of Rome, in his official robes and cloak of yellow and gold, with his pages of similar costume, the conservatori of the city; and on the steps, around the throne, stood, or were seated some twenty assistant bishops; on either side six lines of seats stretching down to the altar were occupied by the cardinals and by a great mass of prelates, Latin and Oriental, all in the richest vestments appropriate to this, the greatest festival of the Church.

Never was solemn high mass celebrated with more splendor in St. Peter's than on this Easter Sunday. To be privileged to assist at it amply repays many a one for all the time and all the fatigue of a journey to Rome. The Holy Father officiates with a fervor and intense devotion which lights up his countenance. The venerable Cardinal Patrizi, who stood by his side, was the very personification of sacerdotal dignity. The mitred prelates in their places, many of them gray-haired or bald, or bent with age and labors, seemed radiant with the holy joy of the occasion. The masters of ceremony and the attendants moved gravely and reverently, as their duties called them from one part of the sanctuary to the other. Even the vast crowd of forty or fifty thousand that filled the church were penetrated with reverent awe, and sank almost into perfect stillness. Nothing was heard save the noble voice of the Sovereign Pontiff chanting the prayers, and the resounding strains of the choir. After the subdeacon

had sung the epistle in Latin, a Greek subdeacon, in the robes of his Greek rite, sung it in Greek; and similarly a Greek deacon followed the Latin deacon in chanting the Gospel. A musical antiquarian would have found in the peculiar modulations of their chant, traces of the ancient Eastern style of music, going back, perhaps, in those unchanging people to the days of Greek classic civilization. The most impressive moment in the mass was certainly the elevation. At a signal you heard the voice of the officers giving the command, and the thud on the floor as companies of soldiers simultaneously grounded arms, and every man sank on one knee. The Noble Guard, too, sank on one knee, uncovered their heads and saluted with their bright swords. The Swiss Guard stood erect and presented arms. In the sanctuary, of course, all were kneeling. There was a sound like the rushing of a wind through a pine forest as the vast multitude strove to sink down, too. And then came a dead silence over all. As the Pontiff raised aloft the sacred host, turning toward every quarter of the church, there came, faint and soft, and solemn at first, and gradually stronger and more emphatic, the thrilling tones of those silver trumpets placed over the doorway and out of sight. Their slow, majestic melody, and their rich accords, and the repeated and prolonged echoes of those notes of almost supernatural sweetness, from chapels and nave and dome, produced an effect that was marvellously impressive. As if fascinated by them, no one moved from his kneeling position, or even raised his head, until

the last note of the strain and its receding echoes died away, and the choir went on to intone the "*Benedictus qui venit.*"

At the conclusion of the mass the Pope unrobed, put on his cope and tiara again, and retired in the same manner as he had entered. At once the vast mass of people began to pour forth from St. Peter's to make their way to the front; for the Pope would soon give his solemn benediction *urbi et orbi*—to Rome and to the world. We have already described the square before St. Peter's It is about fifteen hundred feet long, and averages nearly four hundred feet in breadth. All during the mass it had gradually been filling up, and when now new torrents of men came pouring out of the church, the whole place became so packed that one standing on the lofty colonnade on the side of the Vatican and looking down on the square, perceived that only here and there even small portions of the ground remained visible, such was the closeness with which men and women stood packed together. Especially was this true on the vast esplanades more immediately before the church, and the broad steps leading up to it. Here were gathered all who wished to be as near as possible to the Pope during the blessing, or to get a sight from this elevation of the vast basin of the square thoroughly packed with human beings. Nor was the multitude confined to the square alone; on the colonnades, on either hand, stood thousands and thousands as in favored positions. Every window and balcony looking out on the square was thronged. Every roof had its

group, and away down the two streets leading up the square from the bridge of St. Angelo the crowd appeared equally dense. A military man present, whose experience had qualified him to estimate the large masses, judged that there were present at least one hundred and twenty thousand persons. Mingling among them, you heard every language of Europe, many of Asia, and, it was said, half a dozen from Africa. It was a representation of the world which the Pontiff would bless. From all this multitude, standing in the bright sunlight, which a north wind rendered not disagreeable, came up a roar, as it were, of rushing waters, mingling the hum of so many voices with the blaring of an occasional military trumpet from the troops, and the neighing of horses.

Soon the regimental bands are heard to salute the approach of His Holiness, invisible as yet to the crowd. A score of mitred prelates appear at the large Balcony of Blessing. They look out in wonder and admiration at the scene below, and retire to allow another score to view it; a third group does the same. These are the bishops who have accompanied the Pope from the sanctuary to the Vatican, and from the Vatican thither. Of the others, some are down on the square with the people, more on the colonnades, in places reserved for them. After the bishops the cardinals are seen to fill the balcony once or twice, and then the Pontiff himself comes into view, borne forward on his curule chair. He is out on the loggia itself. Ordinarily, besides the ornamental drapery which we see decorating the col-

umns and architrave and tympanum, and the railing in front, there projects overhead a large awning to screen him from the sun. But today the north wind does not allow it to stand. He is scarcely inconvenienced by the rays of the sun as they are reflected from his rich gold-cloth mitre, studded with precious stones, and from the massive gold embroidery of his cope. The military music has ceased, and there is the silence of awe and earnest expectation. Those that are near hear the tones of someone chanting the Confiteor beside the Pontiff. Two bishops hold the large missal, from which he chants the prayers in a clear, rotund and musical voice. The people are kneeling, and twice is heard the response of united thousands—*Amen.* The book is laid aside. The Pontiff rises and stands erect, looks up to heaven, and with a majestic sweeping motion, opens wide his arms and invokes on all the blessings of heaven. His voice is given forth in its very fullest power, and even at the furthermost end of the square the kneeling crowd sign themselves with the sign of the cross as they distinctly hear the words: *"Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper."* May the blessing of the Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon you and abide with you forever. And then there came a swelling *Amen.* As the Pontiff sank back on his chair, the kneeling crowd arose, and there burst forth from every portion of it a loud acclaim of *vivas,* of good wishes, of acclamations, that died away only as

he retired from view, and as the cannon of St. Angelo commenced the national salute.

It was a ceremony fitted by its majesty and its magnificence to close the grand ceremonies of the Easter Week. Art cannot do it justice. Painting, tied down by the laws of perspective, cannot portray what the eyes see on every side, and does not pretend to give the words of solemn prayer, of impressive benediction, and the outburst of acclamation which we heard. Words must fail to convey the emotions that filled the hearts of thousands that day at the sublime and moving spectacle. It was a sensible testimony of the holiness, the authority and the unity of the Church of Christ, a testimony to which not even an unbeliever, if present, could remain indifferent.

It took nearly two hours for that crowd to depart. The cardinals, the royalty, the nobles, and many of the bishops in carriages, made their way, at a snail's pace, along the streets leading to the old Roman Ælian Bridge across the Tiber, now known as, the Bridge of St. Angelo. Others more in a hurry, went out by the Porta Angelica, so as to cross the Tiber at the Ponte Molle, two miles north of the city, and then re-enter by the Porta del Popolo; and others again turned southward, following the streets along the river, and crossing it at the suspension bridge, or at some of the bridges lower down. And so, within two hours, all reached their homes without a single accident, without a single quarrel, without a single call for the interference of the police.

But it was for many of them only to return with-

in a few hours. On Easter Sunday evening occurs the grand illumination of the façade and dome of St. Peter's. As the shades of evening fell on the city, silvery lights began to mark the lofty cross, and the glow along the huge ribs of the mighty dome, and to map out the lines of the windows and doors, the columns, cornices and tympanums, and the architectural ornaments and projections, to illuminate clock faces and the coats-of-arms above them, to sparkle along the minor domes, and to stretch away on either side in regular lines along each colonnade, diffusing everywhere a gentle light, and bringing into prominence, with a fairy-like witchery, all the lines of the pile before you. There are about five thousand two hundred of these lights. They are made of broad, shallow plates of metal or earthenware, containing a certain amount of prepared tallow and a lighted wick, and surrounded by a cylinder of paper, colored and figured. From this lantern, as it may be called, the lights come diffused, subdued and white; hence the Romans call this the silver illumination. The square was filled, though by no means as in the morning, with crowds looking, wondering and admiring. At a quarter past eight the large bell of St. Peter's began to chime. As the very first stroke came to our ears a tiny blaze was seen to dart up a guiding wire to the top of the lofty cross, and a clear, bright flame burst forth, and glowed on the summit; downward the tiny flame flew, lighting two others on each arm of the cross, and then downward lighting still others along the stem. Invisible hands caused other

such little flames to flit rapidly hither and thither like glow-moths, all along the dome, the front, and both colonnades around the square. Wherever they seemed to light for an instant there a bright flame sprung into existence. In just twenty-three seconds, and long before the clock had half struck the hour, eight hundred of those bright yellow flames had almost eclipsed the first ones, and the building stood forth in the silver illumination. It was a sight, once seen, never to be forgotten. Whoever first conceived the idea of this instantaneous change of illumination was a poet in the truest sense of the word.

As we have already stated, the third public session was fixed for April 26th, Low Sunday. At nine A. M. the cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, mitred abbots and superiors of religious orders were in their places. The council hall had been restored to the original form in which we had seen it on the day of the opening. All the changes to fit it for the discussions of the general congregations were removed. The Noble Guard and the Knights of Malta were on duty as custodians of the assembly. Cardinal Bilio celebrated a high mass, as had been done in each of the previous sessions. At its termination the Gospel was enthroned on the altar. The Holy Father intoned the *"Veni Creator Spiritus,"* and the choir and united assembly of prelates sang the strophes alternately to the conclusion of that sublime hymn. The Pontiff, chanted the opening prayers, and all knelt when the Litany of the Saints was intoned in the varied and well-known

antique melodies of the Gregorian chant. At the proper place the Pontiff chanted the special supplications for a blessing on the council, and the chanters and the assembly, and, in fact, thousands of the audience, joined in the swelling responses. At their conclusion the special work of this session commenced. According to the olden time ritual of councils, all in the hall, not belonging strictly to the council, should at this point be sent away, and the gates be closed, that in their voting the fathers might be free from all outside influence, and each might speak his mind, unswayed by fear or favor. But if, in stormier times, when clamorous mobs might invade a council hall, such precautions were necessary; here today they are certainly not necessary. There is no need to close the wide portals against these thousands who have gathered to look with reverence and rapture on this venerable assembly. Let the doors then stand open to their widest extent, that all may see. And it was a scene worth coming to behold, as many had done, across oceans and mountains to look on. The pillars and walls of the noble hall were rich with appropriate paintings, with mosaics, and statuary, and marbles. At the furthest end, on his elevated seat, sat the venerated Pontiff, bearing on his head a precious mitre, glittering with jewels, and wearing a cope rich with massive golden embroidery. On either hand sat the venerable cardinals, arrayed in white mitres, and wearing their richest robes of office. In front of them sat the patriarchs, mostly Easterns, in the rich and bright-colored robes of their respective rites, and wearing tiaras radiant

with brilliants and other jewels. Down either side of the hall ran the manifold lines of primates, bishops, archbishops and other prelates, all in white mitres, and in copes of red lama; all save the oriental prelates, who wear many-colored copes and vestments, and rich tiaras, ever catching the eye of the spectator as they sat scattered here and there in that crowd, and excepting also the heads of the religious orders, who wear each his appropropriate dress of white, or of black, or of brown, or mingle these colors together. The contrast and play of various colors in all these vestments give a brilliancy to the whole scene, much beyond that which the uniform white of the first two sessions had yielded.

But what mattered the color of their vestments, when one considered the venerable forms of the bishops themselves. They sat still, and almost as motionless as so many marble statues. Now and then some aged prelate, with bald head and snow-white locks, would lay aside for a few moments the heavy mitre, that perhaps was pressing his aged brows too heavily. All these seemed motionless. Their countenances, composed and thoughtful, told how thoroughly they, at least, were impressed with the importance and solemnity of their work.

In the middle stood the altar, rich and simple, on which lay enthroned the open book of the Gospels. Nearby stood the light and lofty pulpit of dark wood.

Into this pulpit now ascended Monsignor Valenziani, Bishop of Fabriano and Matelica, one of the assistant secretaries, and in a voice remarkable

for its strength and distinctness, and not less so for its endurance, read with most appropriate emphasis and with the musical intonations of a cultivated Italian voice, the entire Dogmatic Constitution, from beginning to end. It occupied just three-quarters of an hour.

At the conclusion he asked: "Most eminent and most reverend fathers, do you approve of the canons and decrees contained in this constitution?"

He descended from the pulpit, and Monsignor Jacobini, another assistant secretary, took his place to call for the votes of the fathers, one by one.

"The Most Eminent Constantine Cardinal Patrizi, Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina!"

The aged cardinal rose in his place. We heard his answer, *PLACET;*—I approve. An usher standing near him repeated, *Placet;* a second one on the right-hand side repeated, *Placet.* And from the ushers again we heard echoing through the hall, *Placet! Placet! Placet!*

"The Most Eminent Aloysius Cardinal Amat, Bishop of Palestrina!"

The aged cardinal rose slowly, and in a feeble voice replied, *PLACET.* And from the ushers again we heard echoing through the hall, *Placet! Placet! Placet!*

Thus there could be no mistake as to the vote, and not only the notaries, but all who wished could keep a correct tally.

Cardinal after cardinal was thus called in order and voted; then the patriarchs, each one of

whom, rising, declared his vote, and the ushers repeated it loudly. *Placet! Placet! Placet!*

Then on through, the primates, the archbishops and bishops, the mitred abbots, and the heads of religious orders, admitted to the right of suffrage. Where a vote was given the three ushers invariably repeated it. Sometimes when a name is called the answer is, *ABEST*—he is absent. In all, six hundred and sixty-seven votes were cast, all of them in approval, not a single one of them in the negative. Not a few of the bishops had obtained leave to go to their dioceses for the Holy Week and the Easter festivities, and had not yet been able to return to the council. We know of one who, after two weeks of hard work at home, had travelled all Saturday night on the train, and had reached Rome only at nine A. M. Sunday morning. He had at once said mass privately in the nearest convenient chapel, and, without waiting for even the slightest refreshment, had hurried to St. Peter's, that he might take his place among his brethren and record his word *"Placet."* The whole form of voting occupied about two hours. It was, in truth, a solemn and most impressive scene. There was a pause at the end, while the notaries counted up the votes, and declared the result. This done, the Pope spoke aloud: "The canons and decrees contained in this constitution, having been approved by all the fathers, without a single dissentient, we, with the approbation of this holy council, define them, as they have been read, and by our apostolic authority we confirm

them." It was the official sanction sealing their force and truth.

The Pontiff paused for a moment, evidently struggling with the emotions of his heart, and then continued in an impromptu address in Latin, which we caught as follows:

"Most reverend brethren, you see how good and sweet it is to walk together in agreement in the House of the Lord. Walk thus ever; and as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ on this day said to His apostles, PEACE, I, His unworthy vicar, say unto you in His name, PEACE. Peace, as you know, casteth out fear. Peace, as you know, closes our ears to words of evil. May that peace accompany you all the days of your life. May it console you and give you strength in death. May it be to you everlasting joy in heaven."

The bishops were moved, many of them to tears, by the dignity and the paternal affection with which the simple words came from his heart. He was himself deeply moved.

Other prayers were chanted. The pontifical blessing was given, and the Pope intoned the *Te Deum*. The choir, the bishops and the thousands of priests and laity in the church, who had looked on this solemn act of the Church just executed, joined in with their whole heart and soul, and swelled the grand Ambrosian melody, making it roll throughout the church, and calling echoes from every chapel and arch, from nave and transept and dome. And with this concordant song of gratitude to God, the third session of the Vatican Council was appropriately closed.

The Pontiff departed, accompanied by some of the cardinals, by the senator and conservatori of Rome, the masters-at-arms of the council, and the attendants of the pontifical household. Soon the prelates and cardinals moved slowly from the vast council hall into the church, unrobed in a chapel set apart for the purpose, and wended their way homeward, and the third public session of the council was over.

Since Low Sunday the general congregations have resumed their sittings, and the committees on matters of faith and on matters of discipline have been busily engaged. Matters from the latter committee have already been rediscussed, and some preliminary votes have been taken. It is understood that ere long the committee on matters of faith will report back to the general congregation another schema on the Church, in the course of which the infallibility of the Pope, of which so much has been written and said, will at last come formally before the council. Should this be the case, we may be sure the whole subject will be examined with the care and research which its importance requires, and which the dignity and learning of the fathers demand. The result will be that decision to which the Holy Spirit of truth will guide them.

Rome, May 8, 1870.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER V

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN, CHAPTER V.

THE preamble and first four chapters of the dogmatic constitution *de Fide Catholica* having been irrevocably disposed of in the public session held on Low Sunday, are now before your readers and the world.

The withdrawal of the veil of secrecy from this portion of the *schema* has removed from the eyes of many, the scales of doubt and misgiving, blinded as they were by the repeated statements of certain newspaper correspondents; and as future decrees come to light, they will equally confound the pretensions of the false prophets, and amply repay the patient hope of the faithful.

The Vatican Council took a fresh start on the following Friday, April 29th. In the general congregation of that day, the fathers passed from faith to discipline, and began to discuss the reformed *schema* on the Little Catechism.

After the mass, which was said by the Archbishop of Corfu, the council was addressed by Mgr. Wierzchleyski, Archbishop of Leopoli, in Galician Poland, who spoke in the name of the deputation of discipline, of which he is a distinguished member.

Speeches were afterward made by the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, Cardinal Rauscher of Vienna, and by the Bishops of Guastalla, Saluzzo, and St. Augustine, Florida.

The next morning, Saturday, the 30th, the discussion was resumed. The Archbishop of Avignon, and the Bishops of Luçon and Parma made some remarks on the general features of the *schema.* The prelates were followed by the distinguished Bishop Von Ketteler of Mayence, the Bishops of Plymouth and of Clifton in England, and the Bishops of Treves in Germany, all of whom confined themselves to some particular points of the document. The last speaker was the Bishop of Seckau in Germany, a member of the deputation.

As the rules of the council authorize the members of the deputation to reply to the observations of the fathers at any stage of the discussion, the committee avail themselves of that privilege by making the final speech, which in ecclesiastical convocations, as well as in civil meetings, is generally the most telling one.

At the conclusion of the remarks by the Bishop of Seckau, the president declared that the debate on the Little Catechism was closed, and that the vote would be taken on the following Wednesday, on all the amendments proposed. In the congregation of Wednesday, May 4th, the Bishop of Tyre and Sidon celebrated mass in the peculiar and impressive form of the Maronite rite. The president asked the prayers of the fathers for the venerable Bishop of Evreux in France, who died

in his seventieth year, and survived only two days after returning home from the council.

Permission was granted to nine foreign bishops to return to their sees. Among them were the Bishops of Arichat and Charlottetown, in British America. The regular business commenced with a second speech by the Bishop of Seckau, who reviewed all the amendments proposed in the preceding congregation. The final vote was then taken on the Little Catechism as a whole. Each bishop voted *viva voce*. The term *placet* was used by the prelates who gave unqualified approbation to it; *placet juxta modum* by those who had some modification to propose, while assenting to its general features; and *nonplacet* by those who dissented from the measure. The total number of votes given was 591.

The Little Catechism, which has received no small share of public attention, now "lies over" till the final seal of approbation is stamped upon it at the next public session.

The general congregations were resumed on the 13th. After the usual religious exercises, leave of absence without the obligation of returning was granted to the following prelates:

The Bishop of Gezira, Mesopotamia, Syriac rite; the Bishop of Ferns, Ireland; the Bishop of Goulburn, Australia; the Bishop of Puno, Peru; the Bishop of Santiago, Chili; the Archbishop of Marasce, Cilicia, Armenian rite; and the Bishop of Mardin, Chaldea, Armenian rite.

The oral discussion then commenced on the great and fundamental question *de Romani Pontificis*

Primatu et Infallibilitate, which is comprised in a preamble and four chapters, and which forms the first part of the dogmatic constitution *de Ecclesia Christi.*

These four chapters had already passed through several manipulations before being submitted to oral discussion. First, the text had been distributed to the fathers, who in due course of time transmitted their observations upon it to the deputation *de fide.* These observations were then maturely examined by the members of the deputation, and a printed report of their views on them was sent to the residence of each bishop.

The Bishop of Poitiers, in the name of the deputation, opened the discussion with a lucid exposition and vindication of the substance and form of the text. With this lengthy and learned speech closed the congregation of the 13th of May.

Next day, the debate was resumed. The Venerable Constantine Patrizi, Cardinal Vicar of Rome, and, with the exception of Cardinal Mattei, the oldest member of the Sacred College, commenced the discussion. He was followed by the Archbishop of San Francisco, United States; the Archbishop of Catania, Italy; the Archbishop of Messina, Sicily; the Bishop of Dijon, France; the Bishop of Vesprim, Hungary; the Bishop of Zamora, Spain, and the Bishop of Patti, kingdom of Naples.

On Tuesday, the 17th, Archbishop Dechamps, Primate of Belgium, addressed the fathers in the name of the deputation. Speeches were also delivered by the Bishops of St. Brieux, France;

Santo Gallo, Switzerland, and of Rottenburg, Wurtemberg. The president announced the death of the Bishop of Olinda, in Brazil, and recommended him to the prayers of the council.

Wednesday, the 18th. The Archbishop of Saragossa opened the discussion, representing the deputation. The other speakers in the congregation were all cardinals namely Cardinal Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, Bohemia; Cardinal Donnet, of Bordeaux, and Cardinal Rauscher, of Vienna.

Thursday, the 19th. Cardinal Cullen of Dublin was the first speaker, and was succeeded by the Cardinal Archbishop of Valladolid, Spain, and by the Greek-Melchite Patriarch of Antioch.

Friday, the 20th. The Primate of Hungary had the advantage of the opening speech. The venerable Dr. McHale came next. "The Lion of the fold of Juda," as he is called, looks as *hale* as a man of forty-five, though he is a bishop since 1825. The Archbishops of Corfu and Paris occupied the pulpit during the remainder of the session.

Saturday, the 21st. Archbishop Leahy, of Cashel, reviewed some of the preceding speeches as a delegate of the deputation and was followed by the Bishops of Strasburg, Forli, and Castellamare, Italy.

Intense and unwavering interest was manifested in each of the foregoing congregations, both on account of the grave character of the subjects under deliberation, and the eminent prelates that took part in the discussion. I wish that, together

with the names, I were permitted to give also the living words which fell from the lips of these learned and eloquent prelates. They would prove to you that the Christian oratory of the fourth and fifth centuries is re-echoed in the nineteenth, and that it is confined to no nation, but extends over the length and breadth of the Catholic world.

The longest speech yet pronounced in the council was delivered by the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, who spoke for an hour and forty-two minutes. Its length was the more remarkable, as Cardinal Cullen trusted to his memory, and illustrated his discourse by an abundance of facts and figures.

It is well known that all the bishops not only have the same faith, but speak the same language in council; and, with the exception of the orientals, and members of religious orders, they wear the same episcopal garb. Yet is it worthy of remark that, in spite of this uniformity in dress and language and outward mien, scarcely has a prelate opened his mouth from the pulpit when his nationality is at once discovered. He utters his *shibboleth,* which reveals him to his brethren as soon as Ephraim was betrayed to Galaad.

You will hear a bishop whisper to his neighbor, "That speaker belongs to the Spanish family of nations." He hails either from the mother country or from one of her ancient colonies of South America, or Mexico, or Cuba. How does he know? He forms his judgment not merely from the little green tuft you see on the crown of the speaker's birettum or cap, but chiefly from his pronunciation.

He will detect the Spaniard at once by his guttural sound of *qui,* and his lisping *placet,* besides many other peculiarities of utterance.

The Spaniards and their South American and Mexican cousins, though models of episcopal gravity, have not acquired the reputation in the council of generally being the best models of elocution. Their delivery is said to be sometimes indistinct, and their pronunciation so peculiar that, like the rose in the wilderness, they waste the odor of their wisdom on the desert air. Gems of thought fall, indeed, in profusion from their lips, but they escape occasionally in the too rapid current of words.

There are several bishops of Spanish origin, however, who have distinguished themselves alike by distinctness of utterance and by a remarkable fluency. Among others, I might mention the Bishop of Havana, the Bishop of Guamango, in Peru, and S. Concezione, in Chili.

The next speaker is evidently an Italian. You know it from the musical sentences, which flow from his lips in such a smooth and measured strain that he almost appears to be reciting a select piece of Virgilian poetry. He might seem, were not his classical style so natural to him, to be aiming at making a good impression not only on your mind and heart, but also on your ear. Whenever the letter *c* is followed by *e* or *i,* he gives it the soft sound of *ch,* as in our English world cheerful; and he is careful to soften down every word which would sound harsh or grating. Sometimes, indeed, a prelate will adopt for the nonce the Roman style

of pronunciation; but nobody is deceived. Jacob's voice is recognized, though he tries to clothe his words in the form of his brother's.

It is almost impossible for an Italian bishop to make a speech without a formal introduction and peroration, either because of his respect for his hearers or for the great classical masters. He may protest he will be brief, but that word has a relative meaning. But it must be admitted that, for delicacy and refinement of thought, for fecundity of ideas, and clearness of exposition, some of the Italians have seldom been surpassed.

The prelate now before you, as you can tell at once, belongs to the Teutonic family. He is an Austrian, or Prussian, or Bavarian, or perhaps a Hungarian. The German pronounces *g* hard before e or i, contrary to the usual practice of Latin speakers. He makes *sch* soft before the same vowels, pronouncing, for instance, the word *schema* as if it were spelled without a *c*. Hence the gravity of the English-speaking bishops is occasionally relaxed, on hearing *schematis* sound as if it were written *shame it is*.

The German is more tame in delivery than either the Italian or the Spaniard. His colder climate tends to subdue his gestures, as well as to moderate his sensibility. He is not so fond of dealing in compliments as the Italian speakers, but goes at once *in medias res*. He is generally short and precise, and more inclined to appeal to your head than to your heart. At the same time, religious and logical, the sublime superstructure of his faith is built upon the solid foundation of common sense.

If a French prelate were not known by his *rabat*, he would be easily distinguished by his utterance of Latin. He has a strong tendency to shorten the infinitive in the second conjugation, and to lay a particular stress on the last syllable. There is indeed no bishop in the council who is so readily recognized by his voice as the Frenchman. Every one can say to him what the Jews said to St. Peter: "Surely thou art one of them, for thy speech doth discover thee." But, like Peter, he has no reason to be ashamed of the discovery; for his speech is not less pleasant than peculiar. He is no exception to the cultivated taste of his countrymen. He is generally well understood, for he speaks distinctly, and is listened to with pleasure, because to solid learning he unites an animated and a nervous style.

For obvious reasons, a continental writer would be the fittest person to pronounce a correct judgment on the style and latinity of the English-speaking prelates of the council.

I will venture, however, an observation. Though the style of the American, English, and Irish prelates may have less claim to merit for polish and studied classical Latinity, their discourses will certainly compare favorably with those of their episcopal brethren from other parts of the globe, in strength of argument, in clearness of expression, as well as in their telling effect upon their discriminating audience.

The bishops of these countries adopt what is called the parliamentary style. They are usually concise, and always practical. They are in earnest.

They look and talk like men fresh from the battle-field of the world, who have formidable enemies to contend with, and come before the council well stocked with experimental knowledge. They content themselves with a brief statement of the measure they propose, and a summary of the reasons best calculated to support it, without occupying the council with elaborate disquisitions.

The number of the English, Irish, and American bishops up to the present, who have delivered oral discourses before the Vatican Council is comparatively small. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the other prelates of these nations have all remained inactive spectators, for many of them have handed in written observations on the subjects under deliberation.

The following are the English-speaking fathers who, up to the present date (June 2d), have addressed the council:

Archbishops Spalding, Kenrick, and Purcell, and Bishops Whelan and Verot, United States; Archbishop Connolly, Nova Scotia; Archbishop Manning, and Bishops Ullathorne, Vaughan, Clifford, and Errington, England; Cardinal Cullen, and Bishops Leahy, McEvilly, and Keane, Ireland.

None of the Scotch or Australian bishops have as yet spoken.

Comparisons have been drawn between the Council of the Vatican and the United States Congress. Perhaps it would be easier to point out the lines of divergence than those of resemblance between these two deliberative bodies.

As to the relative ages of the members of the

Council and the members of Congress, the former are decidedly in advance of the latter. I have taken the pains to refer to the *Annuario Pontificio* for 1870, which gives the age of nearly all the bishops of the Catholic world. From this book I learn that the oldest bishop in the council is in his eighty-fifth year, while the youngest bishop, the Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, is thirty-five. The Archbishop of Lima, who was prevented by infirmities from coming to Rome, is the dean of the entire episcopacy, being now in his ninety-sixth year. Thus we see that both extremes of age meet on the American continent; North America having the youngest, and South America the oldest representative of the episcopal hierachy.

Of the thousand bishops now in the church, fully three-fourths are between the ages of fifty-five and ninety-six. The ages of the other fourth range between thirty-five and fifty-five. Scarcely half a dozen of these prelates are more advanced in years than the Holy Father, who yet exhibits more physical endurance and mental activity than any bishop ten years his junior.

So much for a comparison as to age. Next as to the speeches in both assemblies. The bishops embrace a wider field in their discourses than our congressmen. They are circumscribed by no limits of country. They make laws which bind the consciences of over two hundred millions of souls—Europeans, Americans, Australians, Asiatics, and Africans; while Congress legislates for scarcely one-fifth of that number, and these confined within a portion of a single continent. Hence, in

this single aspect of the case, the great ecclesiastical synod as far excels the Federal Congress of the United States as Congress itself surpasses the New York Legislature, or this latter, the city council.

The speeches of the Vatican Council are usually much shorter than those delivered in Congress. The addresses of the fathers seldom exceed half an hour,* except those of the members of the deputations, whose remarks generally embrace a critical analysis of the questions before the council and a review of the amendments proposed by the bishops, usually occupying about the space of an hour. The reason for this brevity is obvious. No prelate would wish to be guilty of the bad taste of occupying unnecessarily the precious time of his brother bishops. He is fully convinced, on ascending the pulpit, that every word he says will be carefully weighed in the balance by a discriminating body of judges, who are influenced only by sound logic, and not by plausible rhetoric.

Besides their brevity, I might perhaps also add that the speeches of the fathers are characterized by more personal independence, sincerity, and earnestness of tone, than those of some of our legislators in Washington, while it must be admitted that public opinion commonly attributes to the episcopal character a high order of virtue. Yet, apart from this consideration, we may find a rea-

* The speeches on the Primacy and Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff have exceeded in length those delivered on the preceding subjects, their average duration having been forty-three minutes up to the present date, June 2nd.

son for this difference in the fact that our national representatives have more temptations to sin against singleness of purpose than the prelates of the council. Besides the members on the floor of the House and Senate, there are often well-filled galleries ready to hiss or applaud according to the prejudices of the day, and we know how human nature dreads the finger of scorn and loves the popular plaudits. There is a political party which must be sustained *per fas et nefas,* and though last, not least, there are dear constituents to be conciliated.

The fathers of the council have no such temptations to withdraw them from the strict line of duty which conscience dictates. All their general congregations are so many secret sessions. There are no frowning or fawning galleries to allure or to intimidate. There is no party lash hanging over the bishops' heads; for they have no private measures to propose in behalf of their "constituents." Indeed, one of the rules of the council requires that every bill brought before it must necessarily affect the general interests of the church, and not the special wants of any particular diocese or country.

The consoling unanimity which marked the public session held on Low Sunday, seems to have put an effectual quietus on the erratic correspondent of the London Times, for he no longer, like another Cassandra, utters his prophetic warnings to the council, since the fathers, on the occasion alluded to, by a single breath demolished all his

previous predictions about the threatened rupture of the assemblage.

Directed, no doubt, to view every thing in Rome with distorted vision, this writer literally fulfilled his instructions. If he met bishops walking to St. Peter's, he would despise them as a contemptible set. Should they prefer to ride, they were, in his estimation, pampered prelates crushing poor pedestrians under their Juggernaut. Should a *schema* be approved by the bishops after a brief discussion, they were pronounced by our seer, a packed jury, the obsequious slaves of the Pope. If the discussion happened to be prolonged, he would solemnly announce to his readers the existence of an incipient schism among the fathers. The truth is, the gentleman could never ascend high enough to comprehend the true character of the bishops. He could not associate in his mind independence of thought and the fullest freedom of debate with a profound reverence for the Holy Father.

Upon every question, from the beginning of the council, there has been prolonged and animated discussion. A council necessarily supposes discussion ever since that of Jerusalem. Deprive an œcumenical synod of the privilege of debate, and you strip it at once of its true character and the bishops of their manhood. No stone was left unturned that the whole truth might be brought to light.

But if there has been *"in dubiis libertas,"* there has been also *"in necessariis unitas."* There is no Colenso in the Council of the Vatican. With

regard to doctrines of the Catholic faith already promulgated, there has not been a whisper of dissent. A bishop might as well attempt to pull down the immortal dome of Michel-Angelo suspended over his head, as touch with profane hands a single stone of the glorious edifice of Catholic faith.

There has been also *"in omnibus caritas."* Never was more dignity manifest in any deliberative assembly. A single glance at the council in session, from one of the side galleries, would at once impress the beholder not only with the majesty of the spectacle, but also with the mutual respect which the members exhibit toward each other, and the patient attention with which the speakers are listened to, often under a trying ordeal of several hours' continuous session. As for violent scenes, there have been none, except in the imagination of some correspondents; nor bantering, nor personalities; nor collisions between the presidents and speakers. Since the commencement of the discussion of the present *schema,* upward of sixty fathers have already spoken, only one of whom was called to order—and he at the end of his discourse, because, in the judgment of the president, he had broached a subject foreign to the debate. In a word, there is learning without ostentation; difference of sentiment without animosity; respect without severity; liberty of discussion without the license of vituperation.

May 23d, the congregations were resumed. The opening speech was delivered by the Armenian

Patriarch. The Bishops of Mayence, Angouleme, and Grenoble occupied the attention of the fathers during the remainder of the session.

On the following day, permanent leave of absence was granted to eight prelates, among whom were two Canadians, namely, the Bishop of St. Hyacinthe, and the coadjutor of Dr. Cooke, Bishop of Three Rivers, lately deceased. The council was then addressed by the Bishop of Sion, Switzerland, one of the deputation, and by the Bishops of Urgel, Spain, S. Concezione, Chili, and Guastalla, Italy.

In the congregation of the 25th, England and Ireland had the whole field to themselves, the only speakers being Archbishop Manning and Bishops Clifford and McEvilly. Dr. Manning's reputation as an English speaker is established wherever the English language prevails. His Latin oration in the council, which was not much shorter than that of His Eminence of Dublin, exhibited the same energy of thought and the same discriminating choice of words which are so striking a feature of his public discourses. Dr. Manning has a commanding figure. His fleshless face is the personification of asceticism. His sunken eyes pierce you as well as his words. He has a high well-developed forehead, which appears still more prominent on account of partial baldness. His favorite, almost his only gesture, is the darting of his forefinger in a sloping direction from his body, which might seem awkward in others, but in him is quite natural, and gives a peculiar force to his expressions. His countenance, even in the

heat of an argument, remains almost as unimpassioned as a statue. He knows admirably well how to employ to the best advantage his voice, as well as his words. When he wishes to gain a strong point, he rallies his choicest battalion of words, to each of which he assigns the most effective position; while his voice, swelling with the occasion, imparts to them an energy and a power difficult to resist.

The next congregation, the sixtieth from the opening of the council, was held on the 28th, the speakers being the Bishops of Ratisbonne, St. Augustine, Csanad and Gran Varadin in Hungary, and Coutance in France. At the close, the president announced that the fathers henceforth would meet at half-past eight A. M. instead of nine.

The fathers assembled again on the 30th. The Archbishop of Baltimore delivered the opening speech, which lasted about fifty minutes. He spoke without the aid of manuscript, confiding in his faithful and tenacious memory. He was succeeded by the Bishop of Le Puy in France, Basel in Switzerland, Sutri and Saluzzo, Italy, Constantina, Algiers, and the Vicar Apostolic of Quilon, on the Coast of Malabar.

The following day, indefinite leave of absence was granted to Bishops Demers of Vancouver, and Hennessy of Dubuque, and the newly consecrated Bishop of Alton was permitted to remain at home. The Archbishop of Utrecht commenced the debate, being the first of the bishops of Holland that has addressed the council; the other speakers were the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Bishop of

Trajanopolis, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, who spoke without notes, and the Archbishop of Halifax. The death of the saintly Apostolic Archbishop Odin, of New Orleans, was announced. The venerable prelate finished his course among his kindred near Lyons, on the auspicious festival of the Ascension.

The sixty-third general congregation was held on the 2nd of June. The speakers were the Archbishop of Fogaras, Transylvania, Roumenian rite, and the Bishops of Moulins, Bosnia, Chartres and Tanes.

At the close of the session, the death of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark, England, was announced. Dr. Grant was born of English parents in Ligny, in the diocese of Arras, France, November 25th, 1816, and was promoted to the episcopal dignity June 22nd, 1851. He was much esteemed by his English brethren in the episcopacy for his profound learning and solid judgment, as well as for his amiable disposition. He was one of the deputation on oriental rites.

Thus far, fourteen general congregations have been held on the four first chapters of the *Dogmatic Constitution of the Church of Christ.* Sixty-one fathers have already spoken on the general aspects of the question, leaving forty-nine prelates who have declared their intention to speak on the same subject. As soon as the draught of the *schema* in general has been sufficiently discussed, the debate will commence on each particular chapter.

As our readers would like no doubt, to form a

more intimate acquaintance with the venerable bishops now assembled in council, especially with those who play a more conspicuous part in its deliberations, I propose in the present number to give a brief sketch of a few of the twenty-four fathers who constitute the committee on faith.

It is quite unnecessary to our present purpose to speak of the two American prelates belonging to this deputation, namely, the Archbishops of Baltimore and San Francisco, who are well known in the United States, and whose learning, zeal, and piety are not only gratefully acknowledged at home, but fully appreciated here, as the merited honors conferred upon them testify.

I will commence with Aloysius, Cardinal Bilio, president of the deputation on faith, and one of the five presiding officers of the council. He was born May 25th, 1826, at Alexandria, the celebrated fortified town of Piedmont, which of late years has played so important a part in the history of northern Italy. His father was of a noble family. At the early age of fourteen, the youth, already remarkable for great piety and a maturity of character beyond his years, asked to be admitted into the congregation of St. Paul, founded by the venerable Antonio Zaccaria. He was received as a student and postulant, and devoted himself to study with an earnestness which soon broke down his health, apparently never very strong. He was obliged to suspend his studies for several years. In fact, for a time it was thought his health never would rally. At last, however, he did recover, and at once returned

to the purpose from which his mind and heart had never wandered. Having finished his course and received ordination, he was made in turn professor of Greek, of rhetoric, and of mental philosophy in the college of Parma, and afterward in the university of the same city.

It is the custom of the religious orders and congregations which devote themselves either entirely or in great part to teaching, first by a long and thorough course of study to prepare carefully their younger members for future labors in the professorial chair, and then in their early years of teaching, to appoint them from one chair to another, through the whole cycle, perhaps. So Father Bilio was sent from Parma to Caravaggio, and then to Naples, occcupying various chairs, and finally was made professor of theology and canon law in the Barnabite College of Rome. His professorships were for the world outside his congregation. Within it his brethren recognized his high personal qualifications, and elected him to various offices in their congregation, until at length he was made assistant-general.

Rome could not fail to appreciate qualities and talents like those of this learned and exemplary, religious and able man. He was pressed into service in many of the departments for transacting religious affairs, and finally, June 23rd, 1866, he was named cardinal. He presided over one of the sub-commissions of theologians, who studied out and prepared the draughts for the council, and he is chairman of the special committee or deputation

of twenty-four prelates to treat of all matters relating to faith.

With the single exception of Cardinal Bonaparte, Cardinal Bilio is the youngest member of the Sacred College.

France, the eldest daughter of the Church, is represented in the deputation by Bishop Pie, of Poitiers, and Archbishop Regnier, of Cambrai.

Louis Francis Desire Edward Pie was born at Pontgouin, in the Diocese of Chartres, the 26th of September, 1815. Ordained priest in 1839, he exercised at first the functions of curate of the Cathedral Church of Chartres; and in 1845 the bishop of that diocese appointed him vicar-general, notwithstanding his comparative youth.

From that period the young priest was ranked among the most distinguished preachers of France, and was heard with great success in different cities of that country. His panegyric of Joan of Arc, which he preached at Orleans, is one of his best discourses.

Named Bishop of Poitiers under the presidency, he took possession of his see in December, 1849. He was then only in his thirty-fourth year, an unusually early age for conferring the mitre in Europe.

Bishop Pie directed his eloquence and zeal on various occasions against two sorts of adversaries—those who sap the foundations of faith itself by reducing everything to naturalism, both in religion and society, and those who attempt to weaken Catholicity by the ruin of the temporal power. Against the former the Bishop issued

three *Synodal Instructions on the Principal Errors of the Present Time.* Against the latter he wrote, three years before the last Italian revolution, his *Synodal Instruction on Rome Considered as the See of the Papacy,* in which he ably refuted the sophistries of those who sought the demolition of the temporal power.

Those best acquainted with the Bishop of Poitiers say that his pulpit oratory is characterized by an authority, brilliancy and force of argument worthy of St. Hilary, whose successor he is.

In personal appearance Bishop Pie is prepossessing. His round, full face, without a wrinkle, and his auburn hair, make him seem much younger than he really is. Though stout, and even inclined to corpulency, he is quick and active in his movements.

He speaks with admiration of the late Bishop of Boston, with whom he studied at St. Sulpice, Paris. The Sulpician fathers have been accustomed to select as catechists in the parochial church some of their ablest and most promising students. To both seminarians a class was assigned, and the Bishop of Poitiers says that his American friend, afterward Bishop Fitzpatrick, always excelled in his position.

Emmanuel Garcia Gil, Archbishop of Saragossa, in Spain, was born in St. Salvador March 14th, 1802.

Having completed his literary studies in his native land, he passed through his philosophical and theological course in the diocesan Seminary of De Lugo. In 1825 he entered the Order of St.

Dominic, in which he made his religious profession November 1, 1826.

He was ordained the following year, and immediately after the responsible position of professor of philosophy and theology in the convents of the order at De Lugo and Compostello was assigned to him.

Expelled in 1835 from Spain, with all the members of his order, he soon returned to his post at De Lugo, where for thirteen years he filled the chair of philosophy and divinity in the seminary of which he was successively director and vice-rector.

Having subsequently devoted himself to the more active pursuits of the ministry, he labored with great success in preaching the Word of God, and in the administration of the sacraments.

Appointed to the See of Badajoz in December, 1853, he was consecrated in the city of De Lugo by the Archbishop of Compostello; and five years later, at the request of the Spanish government, he was transferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Saragossa.

Among his fellow-members of the Committee on Faith Mgr. Garcia Gil has the merited reputation of being profoundly conversant with the writings of his great master, the "Angel of the Schools," and hence he is called among them the St. Thomas of the deputation.

Another prominent member of the committee is Mgr. Hassoun, Patriarch of Cilicia for the Armenians. He was born in Constantinople June 13, 1809, of Armenian parents. He passed through

his elementary course in his native city, and completed his studies in Rome, where, in 1832, he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity. A few months later, having been ordained priest, and named apostolic missionary, he was sent to Smyrna, where he devoted himself to the Armenian christians of that city. Removed thence to Constantinople, Father Hassoun exercised the ministry in several churches, and filled the office of chancellor in the archiepiscopal palace. Chosen by the primate as vicar-general and visitor of the diocese and province, the young Armenian priest was unanimously elected by the assembly of his nation, civil prefect of the Armenian Church, in which office he was confirmed by the Ottoman Porte.

In 1842 he was appointed coadjutor to the primate of Constantinople, with the right of succession; and on the death of the latter, in 1846, he was chosen to fill the vacant see.

On the 16th of September, 1866, the Armenian archbishops and bishops assembled in council proclaimed Mgr. Hassoun Patriarch of Cilicia, with the title of Anthony Peter IX. The Holy See confirmed the nomination, and decided that in future the patriarchal see of Cilicia and the arch-primatial see of Constantinople, which hitherto were separate and independent, should form one patriarchate, under the title of Patriarchate of Cilicia, with residence at Constantinople.

By his exertions the episcopal hierarchy was re-established in 1850 in the ecclesiastical province of Constantinople, and a special see for the Ar-

menians erected in Persia. He has succeeded in building in the Turkish capitol, and endowing a seminary to serve for the whole ecclesiastical province. In 1843 Mgr. Hassoun founded the first female convent in the same capitol; and we may well imagine the degree of pious audacity that was required to plant this colony of virgins in the midst of the Sultan's seraglios. This institution is devoted to the education of young girls, and to the instruction of women abandoning schism. The convent has sixty nuns, who educate three hundred poor girls, besides some resident scholars.

The patriarch, by an imperial firman, is charged with all the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Armenians, who are subjects of the Ottoman empire. He gratefully acknowledges the kind disposition always manifested towards him by the government of the Sublime Porte, which has extended to him every facility for carrying out the works of his ministry.

Victor Augustus Isidore Dechamps, one of the most prominent members of the deputation *de fide,* was born at Melle, Eastern Flanders, in the chateau of Scailmont, December 16th, 1810. His early education was intrusted to private tutors, under the eyes of his father, who was a laureate of the ancient University of Louvain. He afterward completed his studies of humanity and philosophy with his brother, Adolph, who was successively Belgian minister of foreign affairs and minister of state.

In the national movement, from which sprung

the independence of Belgium, the two brothers, though yet young, distinguished themselves as publicists during this glorious epoch of patriotism.

In 1832 M. Dechamps entered the Seminary of Tournai, studied afterward in the Catholic University of Mechlin, and concluded his theological course at Louvain, where he was ordained priest December, 1834, by Cardinal Sterckx.

Having soon after joined the Redemptorist congregation, Father Dechamps made his novitiate in 1835. Five years later his career as a preacher began, and in this capacity he greatly distinguished himself.

After the death of Queen Louise of Belgium, in obedience to the express desire of that pious princess, he was charged with the religious instruction of the royal princes, and of the Princess Charlotte. Rev. Father Dechamps was named Bishop of Namur September, 1865. Two years later he was transferred to the archdiocese of Mechlin, in which Brussels is included; and since the opening of the council he has been elevated by the Holy See to the primacy of Belgium.

Monsignor Dechamps has written several valuable works, the most important of which are: *The Free Examination of the Truth of Faith; The Divinity of Jesus Christ; The Religious Question Resolved by Facts;* or *Certainty in Matters of Religion, Pious IX and Contemporary Errors; The New Eve;* or, *Mother of Life,* all of which have been translated into most of the languages of Europe.

The style of Archbishop Dechamps is calm, concise and profound, blending with an attractive unction. His round and pleasing countenance bears upon it the stamp of intellect and energy. Like so many of his gifted countrymen, the prelate of Mechlin unites in his person the mental activity of the Frenchman with the solidity of the German.

John Baptist Simor, Archbishop of Strigonium and Primate of Hungary, was born August 24th, 1813, in the ancient Hungarian city of Fehervar, which is memorable in history as being the place where the kings of Hungary were formerly crowned and buried.

He pursued his philosophical course in the archiepiscopal lyceum of Magy-Szombatm, and his course of theology in the University of Vienna, which honored him with the title of doctor of sacred theology. After the successful completion of his studies, he was ordained priest of the archdiocese of Strigonium in 1836.

Appointed, first, assistant pastor of a church in Pesth, Father Simor soon after received a professor's chair in the university of that city, and subsequently filled several responsible positions, both in the government of souls and in instructing the more advanced candidates for the ministry in a higher course of theology.

On the 29th of June, 1857, he was consecrated Bishop of Gyor, and ten years later, on the demise of Cardinal Scilovszky, Bishop Simor was chosen to succeed that eminent prelate as Prince-Primate of Hungary and Archbishop of Strigonium.

Besides his ecclesiastical eminence, the Primate of Hungary has had distinguished state honors conferred on him. He is the first member of the king's privy council. By established law the ceremony of crowning the king devolves exclusively on the primate; otherwise the coronation is not considered legitimate. The Bishop of Veszprim crowns the queen. The present Emperor, Francis Joseph of Austria, received the crown of the kingdom of Hungary from the hands of Archbishop Simor, on the vigil of Pentecost, 1867, in the presence of an immense assembly of people from all parts of the kingdom. The primate is moreover *ex-officio* chief secretary and chancellor of the sovereign of Hungary. He is also first magistrate of the county, or Department of Strigonium. Hungary contains fifty-two of these departments, each presided over by a chief magistrate.

He has also a seat in the General Assembly, or Parliament, of Hungary, a privilege which is enjoyed in common with him by every Catholic Bishop of the kingdom. Many other prerogatives were inherent in the primatial dignity till they were swept away by the revolution of 1848.

Monsignor Simor informed me that the faithful of his diocese number a million of souls, comprising three distinct nationalities, Hungarians, Slavs and Germans, who speak as many distinct languages.

The primate is consequently obliged, in the visitation of his diocese, to employ these three tongues. In corresponding with his clergy,

whether Hungarian, Slavonic or German, he invariably uses Latin, of which he is a perfect master, and which, till a recent date, was the common language of the greater part of Hungary.

Rome, June 2, 1870.

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN, CHAPTER VI.

THE proceedings of the Vatican Council have reached a stage that allows us to witness again its external splendor and imposing presence. Grand and most august as it certainly is, still everything that strikes the eye fades away as one thinks of its sublime office, of its important, unlimited influence and effect.

The question that for more than a year has agitated all circles of society; that for the past three months has been a subject of exciting debate among the fathers of the council, could not have been of greater weight. It is one of those truths essential to the existence of the Church, and had it not been practically acknowledged among the faithful throughout the world, Christianity, unless otherwise sustained by its Author, would have been an impossibility. The vital point examined was the essence of the union of the Church, to determine dogmatically in what it consists, who or what is the person or body that can so hold and teach the faith as to leave no doubt of any kind whatsoever regarding its absolute divine certainty.

Up to the present day the infallibility of an œcumenical council, or of the whole Church dis-

persed throughout the world, has been recognized as the ultimate rule by all who lay claim to orthodoxy; but with that council, or with that Church dispersed throughout the world, as a requisite—*sine qua non*—was the communion and consent of the Sovereign Pontiff. Where he was with the bishops there was the faith; no matter how many bishops might meet together and decree, if Peter was not with them, there was no certainty of belief, no infallible guidance. Nay, their decrees were received only in so far as approved by him. *Ubi Petrus, ibi ecclesia,* was the formula recognized by tradition. In a word, where Peter was, there was to be found infallible teaching; where Peter was not, there neither was the teaching infallible. None in the Church ever thought of gainsaying this. But there came a time when writers went so far as to say that the Pope could be judged by the other body of teachers, the bishops; and this followed naturally from a mistrust in the unfailing orthodoxy of the Sovereign Pontiff. The greater phases of this movement are well known. The Council of Constance had hardly closed when the Council of Basel put in practice the principles broached by its predecessor, and deposed the reigning head of the Church, putting in his stead Amadeus of Savoy, with the title of Felix V. In the midst of this confusion Eugenius IV held the Council of Florence, in which the remarkable decree was published that declared the Pope the Vicar of Christ, the ruler of the flock, and the doctor of the universal Church. Those of the French clergy who clung with ten-

acity to the principles of Basel refused to receive this decree, under pretence of the unoecumenical character of the Council of Florence. The Jansenists availed themselves of the advantage this pretext gave them. Although eighty-five French bishops wrote in the year 1652 to Innocent X, according, they say, to the custom of the Church, in order to obtain the condemnation of these heretics, the latter still held their ground, and were able to accuse the French Assembly of 1682 of inconsistency, in attempting to force on them a decision of the Pope, whom the assembly itself declared fallible. The celebrated Arnold taught that the refusal of its approbation to a papal decision on the part of one individual church was enough to make the truth of such a decision doubtful.

We shall try to give some idea of the importance of the question of papal infallibility by a parallel development of two opposite teachings in a rapid sketch.

The cardinal principle of Gallicanism is the denial of the inerrancy of the Sovereign Pontiff in his solemn ruling in matters of faith and morals when teaching the whole Church. Anyone who attentively looks at the question must see the close connection of the primacy with the claim of unerring certainty in teaching. The domain of the Church is in faith, in spirituals; temporals being secondary, and the subject of legislation only in so far as necessarily bound up with the former. The only reason why a teacher can lay claim to obedience is because he teaches the truth, and this is especially the case where faith and conscience

are concerned. If the Sovereign Pontiff have not this faculty of teaching the truth without danger of error, then he cannot demand implicit submission. The Church dispersed throughout the world, being infallible, cannot be taught by one who is capable of falling into error. The ordinances, therefore, and decrees of the Pontiff, being intimately connected with faith, and issued on account of it, must follow the nature of the submission to his teaching. But, as this latter, in the Gallican view, is not obligatory unless recognized as just by the whole Church, so neither are the ordinances and decrees to be looked on as binding except under a like reservation. It follows from this, clearly and logically, that the supremacy of the Pope can be called supreme only by an abuse of terms; consequently, first, the texts of canon law and of the fathers that teach a perfect supremacy are erroneous or false, and have no foundation in tradition, which is the truth always, everywhere and by everyone held in the same way; second, the texts of Scripture that refer to Peter are to be restricted to him personally, or, when seeming to regard his successors, are to be interpreted in a sense not favorable to the idea of a perfect supremacy. The Pope thus becomes amenable to the Church; he is the divinely constituted center, nothing more; the official representative of the bishops of the whole church dispersed throughout the world, which alone is the ultimate criterion of truth. He can, therefore, be judged by the bishops, be corrected by them, deposed by them, and his asserted right to reserve powers to

himself to the prejudice of ordinaries, or to legislate for dioceses other than his own, is to be set aside. A species of radicalism is thus introduced into the Church. Even the bishops themselves are not to be looked on as infallible judges of the faith of their flocks, and the faithful themselves, or the people, become the ultimate judges of what is to be held as of faith. Instead of being taught, they teach; instead of being a *locus theologicus,* they become the *ecclesia docens;* and the teachers and rulers become the ruled and taught. As the people themselves are liable to be swayed by the influence and teaching of artful men, we have in consequence a weak and uncertain rule to go by; weak because of the moral impossibility of knowing the sense of the whole Church, for even the members of an œcumenical council might not exactly represent the faith of their individual churches; uncertain because of the facility with which in past time the people of many individual churches have been led astray.

As we write it seems as if we heard some indignant protest against what we have just said. We reply that we do not refer to individual opinions; many Gallicans refused to go the length of their principles, a sense of danger alarmed their piety and put them on their guard. For our part, we treat of the principles themselves, and deem perfectly consequent what we have asserted. It would be an easy matter to illustrate it with facts of the present as of the past; but it would be beyond our scope just now.

Any student of history will have no difficulty

in recalling the manner in which defections from the Church have been brought about, and the errors of those who once seemed columns of the temple. The inadequacy of the Gallican rule is still further shown by its practical inconvenience. It is fortunate that in the early Church it had no place whatsoever. Peter, being then recognized as the head and teacher of the Church, all controversies were referred to him, and by him they were settled. *Petrus per os Leonis, per os Agathonis locutus est;* so spoke the fathers of Chalcedon and of the Sixth Council. Suppose for a moment it had been otherwise; suppose, when the Pelagian heresy arose, it had been necessary to hear the voice of the whole Church scattered over the earth—this being the rule—the whole Church, not any one part, was to give the doctrine from which it was not lawful to depart. Zosimus was but one bishop; so, too, was Innocent I; Augustin was only one learned man, and Prosper of Aquitaine, a Christian poet and polished scholar, but only one other father after all. Those who wrote with them bore witness each for his own particular church. What had become of the Church of Scythia, of Lybia, of Ethiopia, of Arabia? Who had penetrated into the Indies, or set sail for the islands of the sea, or reached the far-off coasts of the Sinenses? Who was to explain with accuracy to those distant Christians the cunning dealing of Celestius and Pelagius, that had deceived the vigilance of the Eastern fathers, and lay bare the hypocritical professions that had misled even Zosimus? Who

was to bring back the opinion or belief of these isolated churches without danger of misunderstanding or misinterpretation? Those were not days when communication was easy. Weeks and months amid all kinds of dangers and uncertainty were required to reach even those places that lay near the shores of the Mediterranean. It was physically impossible to ascertain with unerring sureness the belief or condemnation of those far-off Christians; and as long as their assent was not given there was no adequate rule of faith. Consequently, there was no prompt or efficacious means of correcting error; the means at hand were of uncertain worth, therefore not sufficient to use against heresy, that could always appeal to the universal church dispersed throughout the world, and when condemned by those near, fly to the probable protection of those at a distance, without the least possibility of ever knowing the belief of those to whom they appealed.

In the meanwhile, heresy crept into the flock, established itself there; for there was none to cast it forth; and the fold became tainted. Thus from age to age Christianity would have been a mass of error, the truth being obscured or suffocated by the weight of falsity from the want of a prompt, practical means by which heresy could be detected and crushed at its birth. Happily no such state of things existed; the chair of Peter was the abode of truth; it was set up against error, and the quick ear and intuitive eye of Christ's Vicar heard and saw the evil, and met it at the outset.

The doctrine which teaches the opposite of what we have been describing, and which is now of faith, clears up all difficulties, and comes to us in all the beauty and consistency that adorns truth. Jesus Christ has made Peter and his successors the foundation of the church. He has given to him, and to each of those who succeeded him, of his own firmness, and strengthened his faith that it fail not, that he may confirm his brethren. In this office of confirming his brethren, Peter holds the place of Christ, and acts in His name. The gift he possesses, however, is not one of inspiration; but he is assisted and kept from erring in his judgment of what is contained in the revelation made by Christ to man. To arrive at a knowledge of what that revelation is, he seeks in his own church, and according to the need, in the churches everywhere that he may know their traditions. The judgment he makes is infallible, and in promulgating it he lays down the tenets of faith for the whole church. Hence he becomes the immovable rock upon which the faithful are builded, he is the centre around which they revolve, the orb from which they receive the light of faith. Hence he has subject to him the minds of all, and the character of his primacy becomes more clear and fully evident. It is no longer a mere point of visible communion, but an active power placed by God to rule, with unfailing guidance in faith, and with a consequent spiritual intuitiveness, that makes him discern what is for the good of the church at large throughout the world. Hence all are bound to obey him in what regards the faith

and teachings of Christ; whosoever is against him, is against his Master.

Hence, too, by a direct consequence, there can be no power set up against his; all the bishops of the church depend on him, receive their jurisdiction from him, and can exercise it only at his word. What a sublime picture of unity, of order, and of strength! As an army in array, the church advances to do battle against the foes of Christ, never more successful, never more glorious, than when her children, recognizing their dependence, and harkening to her voice, with one mind and with one heart follow the leadership of Peter. No wonder this spectacle struck the unbelieving mind with astonishment, or made the gifted writer of England burst forth into the glowing description so familiar to all!

The difference of opinion that existed among the bishops on the subject of the infallibility, is known throughout the four quarters of the globe. What was the cause of it? If anyone imagines that all who joined in opposing a definition from the outset were actuated by the same motives, he would certainly be wide of the mark. While the main point of the controversy was held by the *ultramontanes* without exception, and there was but the one question as to the formula to be used, the opposition, as they were generally called, taken all together, had no fixed principle of accord, save an agreement to disagree with the defining the doctrine as of faith. To analyze the constituent parts of this body we shall class them according to ideas.

The first class comprised those who, believing the doctrine themselves, or at least, favoring it speculatively, did not think it capable of definition, not deeming the tradition of the church clear enough on this point.

A second class, the most numerous, regarded the definition as possible, but practically fraught with peril to the church, as impeding conversions, as exasperating to governments. For the sake of peace, and for the good of souls, they would not see it proclaimed as of faith.

All of these dissident prelates, we are bound to say, acted with conscientious conviction of the justice of the cause they defended. They were bound in conscience to declare their opinions, and to make them prevail by all lawful influence. If on one side or the other of this most important and vital question, any went beyond the limits of moderation, or used means not dictated by prudence or charity, it is nothing more than might have been expected in so large a number of persons, of such varied character and education. Instead of being shocked at the little occurrences of this nature, we should rather be struck with admiration at the self-restraint and affability which were shown, despite the intensity of feeling and strength of conviction. In a word, that the Council of the Vatican did not break up many months ago in disorder and irreconcilable enmity, is because it was God's work, and not man's; it was because charity ruled in it, in spite of defects, and not the passions that govern the political debates of men. The earnest desire all had of a

mutual good understanding was evinced on occasion of the speech of a well-known cardinal which, though not approved by all, gave evidence of a sincere desire for conciliation and agreement. The effect was remarkable; a thrill of pleasure went through the assembly, for the moment each one seemed to breathe freely, and to hail his words as harbingers of peace in the midst of excitement and anxiety.

It was shortly after this incident that the closure of the general discussion on the four chapters of the present constitution took place. The regulations provide for this contingency, making it lawful for ten prelates to petition for the closing of a discussion, the proposal being then put to the vote of all the fathers, and the majority deciding. In this case, a desire not to interfere with remarks which bishops, for conscientious reasons, proposed to make, kept this regulation in abeyance, and it was only after fifty-five speeches had been listened to, that one hundred and fifty bishops sent in a petition for closing, believing there would be ample time and opportunity for everyone to speak and present amendments when the *schema* would be examined in detail. An overwhelming majority voted the closure. It seems difficult to understand how this could be found fault with. Had there been no further chance to speak, there would have been reason undoubtedly to claim hearing, or complain of not being heard. But, as has been seen since, there have been discussions on each part of the *schema;* and on the last chapter, regarding the doctrine of infallibility, one hundred and nine

names were inscribed for speaking, of which number sixty-five spoke, the remainder by mutual consent abstaining from speaking; thus of their own accord putting a stop to a discussion in which it was morally impossible to say anything new. It seems surely to be a strange assertion to say there has been any real infringement of the liberty of speech in the council, when there appears to have been so much of it that the members themselves grew weary of it.

While we are on this subject, we wish to speak a little more fully, as the freedom of the council has been publicly impugned in two works, published in Paris, against which the presidents and the fathers have thought proper formally to protest.

The grounds of the accusation are chiefly three:

1st. The appointment of the congregation, the members of which were named by the Sovereign Pontiff, and who received or rejected the postulata, or propositions, to be presented to the council for discussion.

2nd. The dogmatic deputation having been composed of those in favor of the definition, and the members having been put on it by management; moreover, this deputation exercised a controlling influence in the council.

3rd. The interruption of those who were giving expression to their opinions, in the exercise of their right to speak.

First, with regard to the congregation. In the early numbers of The Catholic World for the current year, an account of the composition of this

body is given, as well as the reasons for its appointment. It may be seen that, although possessed of sovereign powers over the church, defined as belonging to him, by the Council of Florence among others, there was no disposition to exercise coercion on the part of the Pope, who, in controlling the action of the council in this way, was only making use of a right the whole church acknowledged. Moreover, the composition of this body was itself a guarantee of justice and zeal for the general welfare. That there were not named for it those who were known to be hostile to what has just been declared of faith, was nothing more than natural. Moreover, when these high ecclesiastics had admitted postulata, their work was over; the propositions passed into the control of the fathers, and were decided by vote.

The answer to the second objection is easier even. This deputation was elected by the fathers themselves; and as the large majority favored the teachings of Rome, they elected none who was opposed to them. As for the accusation of management, we must say that persons who understood well the tendencies of the prominent men of all parties, naturally, as happens in all such large bodies, directed the choice of candidates, and the final vote of the fathers settled the matter. It is hard to see how the rights of any were violated. This deputation, from the merit of those that composed it, could not be without great weight in the council; and when we consider that it was the choice of the large majority, and was in harmony with the views of the majority, it is not wonderful

that it controlled to a great extent the votes of those composing the council.

The third objection is one that must be treated with great delicacy, for two reasons—because of the impossibility of knowing all the circumstances, and because those who are accused are in a position that prevents them from justifying themselves. The presidents were named to act for the Sovereign Pontiff, to preserve due order, to see that the discussion was limited to the matter in hand, and to prevent anything that might tend to disturb good order, or diminish respect for the authority and person of him they represented. If, in the discharge of their duty, they displeased those they addressed, this was to have been expected; if also they in any way did not observe the due mean, so hard to reach in everything human, one should excuse, if needful, the defect, when especially the great merits, the distinguished services, the known virtue, and high position of these cardinals are taken into consideration.

We have mentioned the fact of the closure of the discussion on the fourth chapter by mutual consent of those whose names were inscribed to speak. This was immediately followed by voting. The first three chapters were soon gotten over; the fourth is the one that contains the doctrine on the infallibility, and it met with more opposition.

On Saturday, July 11th, was held the general congregation, in which the details of this portion of the *schema* were up for approval or rejection. On this occasion the voting was by rising simply,

and against the definition there were forty-seven votes.

On the 13th another general congregation was called to vote, according to the regulations, on the whole *schema,* by name, with *placet,* or *placet juxta modum,* or *non placet.* The register, it appears, stands as follows: Four hundred and fifty-one *placets,* 62 *placets juxta modum,* and 88 *non placets.*

Some of these placets juxta modum recommended the insertion of words that would make the decree clearer and stronger. The *schema* was accordingly altered, and the amendments were retained in the general congregation held Saturday, July 16th.

On Sunday morning was distributed a *monitum,* by which the fathers were notified that the fourth public session would be held on Monday, July 18th, at nine o'clock.

The 18th of July will henceforth be a memorable day in the history of the Church. At nine o'clock precisely His Eminence Cardinal Barili began a low mass, without chant. At the end of it the small throne for the gospels was placed on the altar, and upon it the copy of the sacred Scriptures. In a few moments the Sovereign Pontiff entered, preceded by the senate and by the officers of his court, and, after kneeling a few moments at the prie-dieu, went to his throne in the apsis of the aula. The customary prayers were recited by him; the Litany of the saints was chanted, and the *"Veni Creator Spiritus"* intoned, the people present taking part; after which

a Bishop ascended the pulpit and read the *schema* to be voted on, and finished with asking the fathers whether it pleased them. Monsignor Jacobini next, from the pulpit, called the name of each prelate assisting at the council. Five hundred and thirty-four answered *placet,* two replied *non placet,* and one hundred and six were absent, some because sick, the far greater number not wishing to vote favorably.

As soon as the result was made known officially to Pius IX, who awaited it in silence, but with calmness, he arose, and in a clear, distinct and firm voice announced the fact of all, with the exception of two, having given a favorable vote, wherefore he continued, by virtue of our apostolic authority, with the approval of the Sacred Council, we define, confirm and approve the decrees and canons just read. Immediately there arose murmurs of approbation inside and outside the hall, and, increasing, it swelled into bursts of congratulation, and a *Viva Pio Nono Papa infallibile.* We shall not say anything regarding the propriety of such proceedings in a church; but there are times when feeling is so powerful as to break through all ideas of conventionality. As soon as all were quiet, with unfaltering voice and excellent intonation the Pope began the *Te Deum.* It was taken up alternately by the Sistine choir and those present. At the *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,* the people took up the part of the Sistine choir, and kept it to the end, alternating with the bishops, and with a volume of sound that completely drowned the delicate notes of the papal

singers and which, if not as musical as their chant, was far more impressive. The session ended with the apostolic benediction from the Holy Father, accompanied by an indulgence for all assisting, in accordance with the custom of the Church. Thus passed one of the most momentous and remarkable occasions the world has ever witnessed, a day henceforth memorable in the annals of the Church and of mankind, the results of which the human mind is scarce capable of grasping.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

PREFATORY NOTE.

A FEW words of explanation will be necessary that the reader may understand the causes which led up to my presenting the following document to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.

Ever since the Reformation the democratic and co-operative institutions of medieval Europe have been upon their death-bed. In the year 1500 most Englishmen, for instance, owned their own homes, but by 1600 between two-thirds and three-fourths only were still in possession of their own lands. By 1700 one-half still had the economic buttress of a home behind them; but by the year 1900 less than one-tenth of the population possessed all the land of the country.

And what is true of real property is true also of the means of production. Trade and business in the middle ages were conducted on the principles of mutual help and assistance, and unlimited competition was never thought of. But with the breaking down of the corporate feeling of united Christendom, methods of business were introduced which would have seemed deeply immoral 100 years before.

The discovery of the new world with its abounding riches and consequent opportunities for exploitation was another factor which greatly increased the evil. But what brought these economic evils to a head was the invention of machinery in the last half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century.

Those who live in these days cannot conceive the state of society in the seventies and the eighties. The money of the country was not only concentrated into the hands of a very few people, but by means of this money this small oligarchy was put in the position of getting complete control of our free institutions. The mass of people dispossessed of land and of the means of production, and retaining only a figment of political power, were by no means satisfied with this arrangement. All the more so as large numbers of the working people, that is to say the dispossessed, were members of the Catholic Church, and among Roman Catholics there is and must always be a memory of a better tradition which preserved to every man as much individual liberty as was compatible with the rights of his fellow men.

Accordingly numerous societies for the protection of the working man rose during the administration of President Cleveland—societies to which working people began to adhere more and more steadfastly as their only protection from economic slavery, but which were vehemently attacked upon the other side as destructive, revolutionary and even anarchic; and indeed the oppression of the wealthy was driving the poor into excesses of

which the anarchist riots of Chicago were but one example.

These societies could not long escape the wise oversight of the Church, and it was a foregone conclusion that in a few years the principle of such organizations of working people must either be approved or condemned. On the one hand great numbers of Ecclesiastics were alarmed at the revolutionary principles which undoubtedly disgraced some members of the trade unions; the more so as many of them were at least nominally secret societies. So great was this alarm in Canada that the Canadian Bishops obtained from the Holy See a condemnation of the Knights of Labor for Canada. But if many Bishops were alarmed at what they considered the revolutionary tendencies of these associations, many other Bishops, including Cardinal Manning and myself, were equally alarmed at the prospect of the Church being presented before our age as the friend of the powerful rich and the enemy of the helpless poor; for not only would such an alliance, or even apparent alliance, have done the Church untold harm, but it would have been the bouleversement of our whole history. Moreover, to us it seemed that such a thing could never take place. The one body in the world which had been the protector of the poor and the weak for nearly 1800 years, could not possibly desert these same classes in their hour of need.

It was under such circumstances that I consulted with Mr. Cleveland, President of the United States, and Mr. Pouderly, who was President of

the Knights of Labor, and at a meeting of the Archbishops of the country I asked Mr. Pouderly to tell their Graces exactly what the obligation of secrecy consisted in. This he very kindly consented to do, and he showed us plainly on that occasion, first, that secrecy was only enjoined upon the members by a simple pledge, and not by an oath; secondly, that this secrecy was only approved by the society of the Knights of Labor in so far as it was necessary to protect their business from enemies; thirdly, that there was nothing in the obligation of secrecy which would prevent any individual manifasting his conscience in the tribunal of Penance privately, or which would prevent the heads of the order from giving the necessary assurances and manifesting everything to competent ecclesiastical authority even outside of confession.

Only two out of the twelve Archbishops were for condemnation; the rest agreed with me that we must do all in our power to prevent any such condemnation of the Knights of Labor in our own country, as would drive them into the camp of revolution.

Accordingly when I sailed for Europe in 1887 to receive the Cardinal's Hat it was part of my mission to present the plea of organized labor, which I did by presenting the following document to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. I cannot say that the task which I had imposed upon myself was an easy one, but I am thankful to say that it proved not an impossible one, and that the

Knights of Labor in the United States were not condemned.

It was a great consolation to me when a few years afterward the late Pontiff, Leo XIII annunciated the principles which underlie the Church's moral teaching with regard to economics, in his famous Encyclical *"Rerum Novarum."* *

"To His Eminence Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda:

"Your Eminence—In submitting to the Holy See the conclusions which, after several months of attentive observation and reflection, seem to me to sum up the truth concerning the association of the Knights of Labor, I feel profoundly convinced of the vast importance of the consequences attaching to this question, which is but a link in the great chain of the social problems of our day, and especially of our country.

"In treating this question I have been very careful to follow as my constant guide the spirit of the encyclical letters, in which our Holy Father Leo XIII has so admirably set forth the dangers of our times and their remedies, as well as the principles by which we are to recognize associations condemned by the Holy See. Such was also the guide of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in its teachings concerning the principles to be followed and the dangers to be shunned by the

* In preparing this Memorial, I gratefully acknowledge the valuable aid of the venerable Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, and of Rt. Rev. Bishop Keane, who were then in Rome.

faithful either in the choice or in the establishment of those various forms of association toward which the spirit of our popular institutions so strongly impels them. And, considering the evil consequences that might result from a mistake in the treatment of organizations which often count their members by thousands and hundreds of thousands, the council wisely ordained (n. 225) that, when an association is spread over several dioceses, not even the bishop of one of these dioceses shall condemn it, but shall refer the case to a standing committee consisting of all the archbishops of the United States; and even these are not authorized to condemn, unless their sentence be unanimous; and in case they fail to agree unanimously, then only the supreme tribunal of the Holy See can impose a condemnation: all this in order to avoid error and confusion of discipline.

"This committee of archbishops held a meeting towards the end of last October, at which the association of the Knights of Labor was specially considered. To this we were not impelled by the request of any of our bishops, for none of them had asked it; and I must add that among all the bishops we know of but two or three who desire the condemnation. But our reason was the importance attached to the question by the Holy See itself, and this led us to examine it with all possible care. After our deliberations, the result of which has already been communicated to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, only two out of the twelve archbishops voted for condemnation, and their reasons were powerless to convince

the others of either the justice or the prudence of such condemnation.

"In the following considerations I wish to state in detail the reasons which determined the vote of the great majority of the committee—reasons whose truth and force seem to me all the more evident after this lapse of time; nor will I fail to do justice to the arguments advanced on the other side:

"1. In the first place, though there may be found in the constitution, laws and official declarations of the Knights of Labor things that we would not approve, still we have failed to find in them those elements so clearly pointed out by the Holy See which would class them among condemned associations:

"(a) In their form of initiation there is no oath.

"(b) The obligation to secrecy by which they keep the knowledge of their business from enemies or strangers is not such as to hinder Catholics from manifesting everything to competent ecclesiastical authority, even outside of confession. This has been positively declared to us by their chief officers.

"(c) They make no promise of blind obedience. The object and laws of the association are distinctly declared, and the obligation of obedience does not go beyond them.

"(d) They not only profess no hostility against religion or the Church, but their declarations are quite to the contrary. The third Plenary Council commands (n. 254) that condemnation shall not

be passed on any association without the previous hearing of its officers or representatives. Now, their president, when sending me a copy of their constitution, declared that he is a devoted Catholic; that he practises his religion faithfully, and receives the sacraments regularly; that he belongs to no Masonic society or other association condemned by the Church; that he knows nothing in the organization of the Knights of Labor contrary to the laws of the Church; that, with filial submission, he begs the pastors of the Church to examine their constitution and laws, and to point out anything they may find objectionable, promising to see to its correction. Assuredly, there is in all this no hostility to the authority of the Church, but, on the contrary, a disposition in every way praiseworthy. After their convention, held last year in Richmond, he and several of the principal members, devout Catholics, made similar declarations concerning the action of that convention, the documents of which we expect to receive shortly.

"(e) Nor do we find in this organization any hostility to the authority and laws of our country. Not only does nothing of the kind appear in their constitution and laws, but the heads of our civil government treat with respect the cause which such associations represent. The President of the United States told me personally, a few weeks ago, that he then had under consideration a proposed law for the amelioration of certain social grievances, and that he had had a long conversation on these topics with Mr. Powderly, the President of the Knights of Labor. The Congress of

the United States, in compliance with the views presented by President Cleveland in his annual message, is at present engaged in framing measures for the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes, in whose complaints they acknowledge that there is a great deal of truth. And our political parties, far from considering them the enemies of the country, vie with each other in championing the evident rights of the workmen, who seek not to resist or overthrow the laws, but only to obtain just legislation by constitutional and legitimate means.

"These considerations, which show that in these associations those elements are not to be found which the Holy See has condemned, lead us to study, in the second place, the evils which the association contends against, and the nature of the conflict.

"2. That there exist among us, as in all other countries of the world, grave and threatening social evils, public injustices which call for strong resistance and legal remedy, is a fact which no one dares to deny—a fact already acknowledged by the Congress and the President of the United States. Without entering into the sad details of these evils, whose full discussion is not necessary, I will only mention that monopolies, on the part of both individuals and of corporations, have everywhere called forth not only the complaints of our working classes, but also the opposition of our public men and legislators; that the efforts of monopolists, not always without success, to control legislation to their own profit, cause serious

apprehensions among the disinterested friends of liberty; that the heartless avarice which, through greed of gain, pitilessly grinds not only the men, but even the women and children in various employments, make it clear to all who love humanity and justice that it is not only the right of the laboring classes to protect themselves, but the duty of the whole people to aid them in finding a remedy against the dangers with which both civilization and social order are menaced by avar ice, oppression and corruption.

"It would be vain to dispute either the existence of the evils, or the right of legitimate resistance, or the necessity of a remedy. At most a doubt might be raised about the legitimacy of the form of resistance, and of the remedy employed by the Knights of Labor. This, then, is the next point to be examined.

"3. It can hardly be doubted that, for the attainment of any public end, association—the organization of all interested—is the most efficacious means—a means altogether natural and just. This is so evident, and besides so comformable to the genius of our country, of our essentially popular social conditions, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it. It is almost the only means to invite public attention, to give force to the most legitimate resistance, to add weight to the most just demands.

"Now, there already exists an organization which presents innumerable attractions and advantages, but with which our Catholic workingmen, filially obedient to the Holy See, refuse to

unite themselves; this is the Masonic Order, which exists everywhere in our country, and which, as Mr. Powderly has expressly pointed out to us, unites employers and employed in a brotherhood very advantageous to the latter, but which numbers in its ranks hardly a single Catholic. Nobly renouncing advantages which the Church and conscience forbid, our workingmen join associations in no way in conflict with religion, seeking nothing but mutual protection and help, and the legitimate assertion of their rights. Must they here also find themselves threatened with condemnation, hindered from their only means of self-defense?

"4. Let us now consider the objections made against this sort of organization.

"(a) It is objected that in such organizations. Catholics are mixed with Protestants, to the peril of their faith. Naturally, yes; they are mixed with Protestants at their work; for, in a mixed people like ours the separation of religious creeds in civil affairs is an impossibility. But to suppose that the faith of our Catholics suffers thereby is not to know the Catholic working men of America, who are not like the working men of so many European countries—misguided children, estranged from their Mother, the Church, and regarding her with suspicion and dread—but intelligent, well-instructed and devoted Catholics, ready to give their blood, if necessary, as they continually give their hard-earned means, for her support and protection. And, in fact, it is not here a question of Catholics mixed with Protestants, but

rather that Protestants are admitted to share in the advantages of an association, many of whose members and officers are Catholics; and, in a country like ours, their exclusion would be simply impossible.

"(b) But it is asked, instead of such an organization, could there not be confraternities, in which the working men would be united under the direction of the clergy and the influence of religion? I answer frankly that I do not consider this either possible or necessary in our country. I sincerely admire the efforts of this sort which are made in countries where the working people are led astray by the enemies of religion, but, thanks be to God, that is not our condition. We find that in our country the presence and direct influence of the clergy would not be advisable where our citizens, without distinction of religious belief, come together in regard to their industrial interests alone. Short of that we have abundant means for making our working people faithful Catholics, and simple good sense advises us not to go to extremes.

"(c) Again, it is objected that, in such organizations, Catholics are exposed to the evil influences of the most dangerous associates, even of atheists, communists and anarchists. That is true, but it is one of those trials of faith which our brave American Catholics are accustomed to meet almost daily, and which they know how to face with good sense and firmness. The press of our country tells us, and the president of the Knights has related to us, how these violent, aggressive

elements have endeavored to control the association, or to inject poison into its principles; but they also inform us with what determination these machinators have been repulsed and beaten.

"The presence among our citizens of those dangerous social elements, which have mostly come from certain countries of Europe, is assuredly for us an occasion of great regret and of vigilant precautions; it is a fact, however, which we have to accept, but which the close union between the Church and her children that exists in our country renders comparatively free from danger. In truth, the only thing from which we would fear serious danger would be a cooling of this relationship between the Church and her children, and I know nothing that would be more likely to occasion it than imprudent condemnations.

"(d) A specially weighty charge is drawn from the outbursts of violence, even to bloodshed, which have accompanied several of the strikes inaugurated by labor organizations. Concerning this, three things are to be remarked—first, strikes are not an invention of the Knights of Labor, but a means almost everywhere and always resorted to by the working classes to protect themselves against what they consider injustice, and in assertion of what they believe to be their just rights; secondly, in such a struggle of the poor and indignant multitudes against hard and obstinate monopoly, outbursts of anger are almost as inevitable as they are greatly to be regretted; thirdly, the laws and the chief authorities of the

Knights of Labor, far from encouraging violence or the occasions of it, exercise a powerful influence to hinder it, and to retain strikes within the limits of good order and of legitimate action.

"A careful examination of the acts of violence accompanying the struggle between capital and labor last year leaves us convinced that it would be unjust to attribute them to the association of the Knights of Labor, for this association was but one among the numerous labor organizations that took part in the strikes, and their chief officers used every possible effort, as disinterested witnesses testify, to appease the anger of the multitudes, and to hinder the excesses which, therefore, in my judgment, could not justly be attributed to them. Doubtless, among the Knights of Labor, as among the thousands of other working men, there are to be found passionate or even wicked men who have committed inexcusable deeds of violence, and have instigated their associates to the same, but to attribute this to the association would, it seems to me, be as unreasonable as to attribute to the Church the follies or the crimes of her children against which she strives and protests.

"I repeat that, in such a struggle of the great masses of the people against the mail-clad power, which as it is acknowledged, often refuses them the simple rights of humanity and justice, it is vain to expect that every error and every act of violence can be avoided; and to dream that this struggle can be hindered, or that we can deter the multitudes from organizing, which is their only hope

of success; would be to ignore the nature and forces of human society in times like ours. Christian prudence evidently counsels us to hold the hearts of the multitudes by the bonds of love, in order to control their actions by the principles of faith, justice and charity, to acknowledge frankly what is true and just in their cause, in order to deter them from what is false and criminal, and thus to turn into a legitimate, peaceable and beneficent contest what might easily, by a course of repulsive severity, become for the masses of our people a dread volcanic force like unto that which society fears and the Church deplores in Europe.

"Upon this point I insist strongly, because, from an intimate acquaintance with the social conditions of our country I am profoundly convinced that here we are touching upon a subject which not only concerns the rights of the working classes, who ought to be especially dear to the Church which our Lord sent forth to preach His Gospel to the poor, but with which are intimately bound up the fundamental interests of the Church and of human society for the future. This is a point which I desire, in a few additional words, to develop more clearly.

"5. Whoever meditates upon the ways in which divine Providence is guiding mankind in our days cannot fail to remark how important is the part which the power of the people takes in shaping the events of the present, and which it is evidently destined to take in molding the destinies of the future. We, behold, with profound regret, the efforts of the prince of darkness to

make this power dangerous to the social weal by withdrawing the masses of the people from the influence of religion, and impelling them towards the ruinous paths of license and anarchy. Hitherto our country has presented a spectacle of a most consolingly different character—that of a popular power regulated by love of good order, respect for religion, by obedience to the authority of the laws, not a democracy of license and violence, but that true democracy which aims at the general prosperity through the means of sound principles and good social order.

"In order to preserve so desirable a state of things it is absolutely necessary that religion should continue to possess the affections, and thus rule the conduct of the multitudes. As Cardinal Manning has well written, 'A new task is before us. The Church has no longer to deal with Parliaments and princes, but with the masses and with the people. Whether we will or no this is our work; we need a new spirit and a new law of life.' To lose influence over the people would be to lose the future altogether; and it is by the heart, far more than by the understanding, that we must hold and guide this immense power, so mighty either for good or for evil.

"Among all the glorious titles which the Church's history has deserved for her, there is not one which at present gives her so great influence as that of 'Friend of the People.' Assuredly, in our democratic country, it is this title which wins for the Catholic Church not only the enthusiastic devotedness of the millions of her

children, but also the respect and admiration of all our citizens, whatever be their religious belief. It is the power of this title which renders persecution almost an impossibility, and which draws towards our Holy Church the great heart of the American people.

"And since it is acknowledged by all that the great questions of the future are not those of war, of commerce or finance, but the social questions—the questions which concern the improvement of the condition of the great popular masses, and especially of the working people—it is evidently of supreme importance that the Church should always be found on the side of humanity—of justice towards the multitudes who compose the body of the human family. As the same Cardinal Manning has wisely written, 'I know I am treading on a very difficult subject, but I feel confident of this, that we must face it, and that we must face it calmly, justly, and with a willingness to put labor and the profits of labor second—the moral state and domestic life of the whole working population first. I will not venture to draw up such an act of Parliament further than to lay down this principle. These things (the present condition of the poor in England) cannot go on; these things ought not to go on. The accumulation of wealth in the land, the piling up of wealth like mountains, in the possession of classes or individuals, cannot go on. No commonwealth can rest on such foundations.' (Miscellanies, Vol. 2, p. 81).

"In our country, above all, this social amel-

ioration is the inevitable programme of the future, and the position which the Church should hold towards it is surely obvious. She can certainly not favor the extremes to which the poor multitudes are naturally inclined, but, I repeat, she must withhold them from these extremes by the bonds of affection, by the maternal desire which she will manifest for the concession of all that is just and reasonable in their demands, and by the maternal blessing which she will bestow upon every legitimate means for improving the condition of the people.

"6. Now let us consider for a moment the consequences which would inevitably follow from a contrary course—from a course of want of sympathy for the working class, of suspicion for their aims, of ready condemnation for their methods.

"(a) First, there would be the evident danger of the Church's losing in popular estimation, her right to be considered the friend of the people. The logic of the popular heart goes swiftly to its conclusions, and this conclusion would be most pernicious both for the people and for the Church. To lose the heart of the people would be a misfortune for which the friendship of the few rich and powerful would be no compensation.

"(b) There would be a great danger of rendering hostile to the Church the political power of our country, which has openly taken sides with the millions who are demanding justice and the improvement of their condition. The accusation of being un-American—that is to say, alien to our national spirit—is the most powerful

weapon which the enemies of the Church can employ against her. It was this cry which aroused the Know-Nothing persecution thirty years ago, and the same would be used again if the opportunity offered. To appreciate the gravity of this danger it is well to remark that not only are the rights of the working classes loudly proclaimed by each of our two great political parties, but it is not improbable that, in our approaching national elections there will be a candidate for the office of President of the United States as the special representative of the popular complaints and demands.

"Now, to seek to crush by an ecclesiastical condemnation an organization which represents more than 500,000 votes, and which has already so respectable and so universally recognized a place in the political arena, would, to speak frankly, be considered by the American people as not less ridiculous than rash. To alienate from ourselves the friendship of the people would be to run great risk of losing the respect which the Church has won in the estimation of the American nation, and of forfeiting the peace and prosperity which form so admirable a contrast with her condition in some so-called Catholic countries. Angry utterances have not been wanting of late, and it is well that we should act prudently.

"(c) A third danger—and the one which most keenly touches our hearts—is the risk of losing the love of the children of the Church, and of pushing them into an attitude of resistance against their Mother. The world presents no

more beautiful spectacle than that of their filial devotion and obedience; but it is well to recognize that, in our age and in our country, obedience cannot be blind. We would greatly deceive ourselves if we expected it. Our Catholic working men sincerely believe that they are only seeking justice, and seeking it by legitimate means. A condemnation would be considered both false and unjust, and, therefore, not binding. We might preach to them submission and confidence in the Church's judgment; but these good dispositions could hardly go so far. They love the Church, and they wish to save their souls, but they must also earn their living, and labor is now so organized that without belonging to the organization it is almost impossible to earn one's living.

"Behold, then, the consequences to be feared. Thousands of the Church's most devoted children, whose affection is her greatest comfort, and whose free offerings are her chief support, would consider themselves repulsed by their Mother, and would live without practising their religion. Catholics who have hitherto shunned the secret societies, would be sorely tempted to join their ranks. The Holy See, which has constantly received from the Catholics of America proofs of almost unparalleled devotedness, would be considered not as a paternal authority, but as a harsh and unjust power. Surely these are consequences which wisdom and prudence counsel us to avoid.

"7. But, besides the dangers that would result from such a condemnation, and the impracticability of putting it into effect, it is also very

important that we should carefully consider another reason against condemnation, arising from the unstable and transient character of the organization in question. It is frequently remarked by the press and by attentive observers that this special form of association has in it so little permanence that, in its present shape, it is not likely to last many years. Whence it follows that it is not necessary, even if it were just and prudent, to level the condemnations of the Church solely against so evanescent an object. The social agitation itself will, indeed, last as long as there are social evils to be remedied; but the forms of organization meant for the attainment of this end are naturally provisional and short-lived. They are also very numerous, for I have already remarked that the Knights of Labor is only one among many labor organizations.

"To strike, then, at one of these forms would be to commence a war without system and without end; it would be to exhaust the forces of the Church in chasing a crowd of changing and uncertain spectres. The American people behold with perfect composure and confidence the progress of our social contest, and have not the least fear of not being able to protect themselves against any excesses or dangers that may occasionally arise. Hence, to speak with the most profound respect, but also with the frankness which duty requires of me, it seems to me that prudence suggests, and that even the dignity of the Church demands that we should not offer to America an ecclesiastical protection for which

she does not ask, and of which she believes she has no need.

"8. In all this discussion I have not at all spoken of Canada, nor of the condemnation concerning the Knights of Labor in Canada; for we would consider it an impertinence on our part to meddle with the ecclesiastical affairs of another country which has an hierarchy of its own, and with whose social conditions we do not pretend to be acquainted. We believe, however, that the circumstance of a people almost entirely Catholic, as in lower Canada, must be very different from those of a mixed population like ours; moreover, that the documents submitted to the Holy Office are not the present constitution of the organization in our country, and that we, therefore, ask nothing involving an inconsistency on the part of the Holy See, which passed sentence *'localiter et juxta exposita.'*

"It is of the United States that we speak, and we trust that we are not presumptuous in believing that we are competent to judge about the state of things in our own country. Now, as I have already indicated, out of the seventy-five archbishops and bishops of the United States, there are about five who desire the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, such as they are in our own country; so that our hierarchy are almost unanimous in protesting against such a condemnation. Such a fact ought to have great weight in deciding the question. If there are difficulties in the case, it seems to me that the prudence and experience of our bishops and the wise

rules of the Third Plenary Council ought to suffice for their solution.

"Finally, to sum up all, it seems to me that the Holy See could not decide to condemn an association under the following circumstances:

"1. When the condemnation does not seem to be justified either by the letter or the spirit of its constitution, its law and the declaration of its chiefs.

"2. When the condemnation does not seem necessary, in view of the transient form of the organization and the social condition of the United States.

"3. When it does not seem to be prudent, because of the reality of the grievances complained of by the working classes, and their acknowledgement by the American people.

"4. When it would be dangerous for the reputation of the Church in our democratic country, and might even lead to persecution.

"5. When it would probably be ineficacious, owing to the general conviction that it would be unjust.

"6. When it would be destructive instead of beneficial in its effects, impelling the children of the Church to disobey their Mother, and even to enter condemned societies, which they have thus far shunned.

"7. When it would turn into suspicion and hostility the singular devotedness of our Catholic people towards the Holy See.

"8. When it would be regarded as a cruel blow to the authority of bishops in the United

States, who, it is well known, protest against such a condemnation.

"Now, I hope the considerations here presented have sufficiently shown that such would be the effect of condemnation of the Knights of Labor in the United States.

"Therefore, I leave the decision of the case, with fullest confidence to the wisdom and prudence of your Eminence and the Holy See."

J. CARD. GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

Rome, February 20, 1887.

THE CHURCH AND THE REPUBLIC

THE CHURCH AND THE REPUBLIC. *

I.

SIXTEEN millions of Catholics live their lives on our land with undisturbed belief in the perfect harmony existing between their religion and their duties as American citizens. It never occurs to their minds to question the truth of a belief which all their experience confirms. Love of religion and love of country burn together in their hearts.

They love their Church as the divine spiritual society set up by Jesus Christ, through which they are brought into a closer communion with God, learn His revealed truth and His holy law, receive the help they need to lead Christian lives, and are inspired with the hope of eternal happiness. They love their country with the spontaneous and ardent love of all patriots, because it is their country, and the source to them of untold blessings. They prefer its form of government before any other. They admire its institutions and the spirit of its laws. They accept the Constitution without reserve, with no desire, as Catholics, to see it changed in any feature. They can, with a clear conscience, swear to uphold it.

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With an appreciation, the greater because their fathers or they themselves have known persecution—in the British Isles, in Germany, in Poland and elsewhere—they prize both the liberty they enjoy as citizens, and the liberty assured to the Church. The separation of Church and State in this country seems to them the natural, inevitable and best conceivable plan, the one that would work best among us, both for the good of religion and of the State. Any change in their relations they would contemplate with dread. They are well aware, indeed, that the Church here enjoys a larger liberty and a more secure position than in any country today where Church and State are united. They have a deep distrust and a strong dislike of the intermeddling of the State with the concerns of religion; and such a restriction as the Church was obliged to endure in France, binding the Pope to choose Catholic bishops only from among the candidates presented to him by unbelieving government officials, seems to them—not fully appreciating the difficulties of the situation—a scandal and a shame. They most assuredly desire never to see a like system introduced into the government of the Church in America. No establishment of religion is being dreamed of here, of course, by anyone; but, were it to be attempted, it would meet with united opposition from the Catholic people, priests and prelates.

Catholics feel at home among their countrymen. They are conscious of an unstained record of loyalty, of patriotic self-sacrifice, and of 'aw-abiding behavior. Their dearest ambition is to live

in peace with all, to antagonize no class; they are conscious of no barrier separating them more than any other element of the population into a class apart. Strong in the knowledge that an overwhelming majority of their fellow-citizens understand and appreciate them, they usually ignore the occasional insults directed to them by a small and rapidly decreasing section of the community not yet emancipated from ancestral misconceptions and prejudices, and still wedded to the conviction that the Gospel is to be propagated by slander and the fomentation of religious strife.

This form of religious propaganda Catholics know to be abhorrent to the spirit of every true American; and on that spirit they rely to nullify the spasmodic efforts of bigotry; for, though a large proportion of the non-Catholics do not sympathize with Catholic doctrines, this dissent is not carried over into political or social life. Men have learned in this country to disagree profoundly without rancor or bitterness. With no compromise of principle on either side, moral worth, sterling character, kindly qualities of mind and heart bind together in good-will, admiration and friendship the lives of those who do not worship at the same altar. The non-Catholic American would receive with a contemptuous smile or an indignant gesture any suggestion that his Catholic friend, or business associate, carried hidden in his heart some sinister tenet that gave the lie to his life, and might at any moment oblige him to turn traitor to the Republic.

The Catholic himself feels, as he has learned

from the lips of his own revered and trusted teachers of religion, that the more faithful he is to his religion, the better and nobler citizen will he be. That religion and patriotism could ever come into conflict in his bosom, seems to him an utter impossibility; and in the religious principles which he has received in common with his fellow-Catholics, he sees the surest defense of the State against the forces of disorder and lawlessness, and the insidious influences that work for the overthrow of our Christian moral standards in private and public life.

Such are the conditions that exist, in themselves admirable, and gratifying to the statesmen, to the churchman, to the lover of religion and country; to all who rejoice in the spread of good-will and peace among men. Who would dare to introduce religious strife among us, to disturb this peace, and set the torch to the Temple of Concord?

II.

Of this body of American citizens living such a life and imbued with such sentiments (of which there are almost as many proofs as there are Catholics), two synods of Protestant ministers have deemed it just and wise to proclaim to the country that Catholics cannot be trusted with political office; that they cannot sincerely subscribe to the Federal Constitution; that their loyalty is illogical, being contrary to the teaching of the Church; that their religion is opposed to American liberties; and that they themselves,

kept in the dark by their religious guides, are ignorant of the true nature of their Church's doctrines. In sounding forth these charges to American Catholics, and to the country in general, they declare themselves inspired, not by religious antagonism or the desire to profit by a good opportunity, but solely by patriotic solicitude for the permanence of American institutions.

Charges so contrary to the abiding convictions of American Catholics, and so hurtful to their deepest affections, are naturally resented; yet they do not appear to have excited any commotion among us. It would indeed be a grave matter if these utterances expressed the judgment of the American nation, indicated its sentiments towards our Catholic citizens, and preluded a departure from the national policy of religious liberty and equality before the law. Happily, we know this is very far from the fact. The truth is, we believe, these ministers not only do not represent the American attitude toward us, but would meet with determined opposition if they attempted to carry with them even their own congregations. They have good cause to complain, as they do, of the apathy of their co-religionists. Catholics are convinced that the nation recognizes its own voice in President Roosevelt's letter to Mr. J. C. Martin rather than in the pronouncements if provoked. There they hear the ring of genuine Americanism; and they catch in the other the echo of old cries, of which they have long grown weary.

III.

It can be pleasant to none of us to be called upon, not only to prove our title to convictions which have guided us through life, but to show cause why we should not be deprived of the common political rights of human beings in our own native land. However, I feel obliged to speak out; and if I should speak with warmth on one or two points, it will be because I feel the proposal made deserves the strongest reprobation, and is, moreover, entirely unworthy of men in the position of those from whom it emanated. I have no desire to inflict pain, but I cannot avoid characterizing the action of the synods as it deserves. Against the gentlemen themselves I can feel no animosity. They are excellent men in many respects, no doubt, and mean to be good citizens. I am sure, though their spirit does not tend to sweeten American life as much as we might desire, they help to purify and raise its tone, and to keep religion alive in the hearts of their people, and I can only wish them well.

The Catholic religion, as they understand it, is in conflict with the Federal Constitution, and with the object of our institutions; Catholics, then, ought not to be trusted with political office. Accordingly, Americans should seek to exclude Catholics from the chair of the President, who is called upon to enforce the Constitution; from the Supreme Bench, whose duty it is to interpret it; from the Senate and the House of Representatives, which have the power to change it. And

as the chief evil dreaded from Catholics is a modification of the existing relations between Church and State, a power theoretically reserved to our State Governments, no Catholic should be chosen Governor, State legislator or judge of a supreme State court. This is the scope of their meaning, though not all explicitly avowed. It would logically be desirable to deny Catholics the right to vote, and with men in the frame of mind their attitude suggests, the realization of this desire in the statute books, and of their complete programme, would only be a matter of their possessing sufficient power and judging the act politically expedient.

Now this proposal to exclude Catholics from office—for it is no mere theory, but a practical programme earnestly recommended to the American public by two solemn assemblies—is advocated expressly in the interest of religious liberty and for the sake of preserving the Federal Constitution. That document says: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Just understand here, however, remark these Lutheran and Baptist synods, an amendment, or rather let us say, a little clause which brings out the sense with admirable clearness: "Provided, of course, that this provision be not understood to apply to Roman Catholics."

Such restrictions on religion have always been felt to be incompatible with American ideas, and have fallen, though sometimes only after a long struggle, before the force of the real American

spirit. "When the Constitution came before the State Conventions, * * * in Massachusetts alone was a dread of liberty expressed. Major Lusk 'shuddered at the idea that Roman Catholics, Papists and Pagans might be introduced into office, and that Popery and the Inquisition may be established in America.' 'Who,' answered the Rev. Mr. Shute, 'shall be excluded from natural trusts? Whatever answer bigotry may suggest, the dictates of candor and equity, I conceive, will be, none.' "* The Puritan clergyman carried his point, and Massachusetts endorsed the Federal Constitution. Most of the State constitutions, however, were not at first characterized by the same perfect liberty. Seven of them debarred Catholics from office or citizenship; six expressly, one by requiring naturalized citizens to abjure any foreign ecclesiastical allegiance. Unitarians in one State, Jews and unbelievers in several, were likewise subjected to civil disabilities. But in the course of time all restrictions against adherents of any religion were swept away. The removal of these civil disabilities has always, I believe, been considered a triumph of the American spirit; and the Lutheran and Baptist synods will find it difficult to persuade the public to write

* Cobb, "The Rise of Religious Liberty in America," p. 508. In regard to the persecution directed against Catholics in Colonial times, Mr. Cobb says: "Of all the religious legislation in the Colonies nothing was more absurd than that against Roman Catholics. One would suppose that the Roman Church was a constant and threatening foe to Colonial Institutions. The fact was far otherwise." Pp. 450-451. See also "Maryland, the Land of Sanctuary," by Right Rev. William H. Russell.

their synodical concept of religious liberty and civil equality upon our statute books. They will not attempt it. I have sufficient confidence in the enlightenment and good will of our American citizens, to be convinced that the clauses discriminating against Catholics which had been incorporated in some State constitutions in Colonial times, and which have been since expurged, shall never be revived, but shall forever lie buried in their ignominious graves.

That Americans in general do not believe in these synodical principles is shown at every election, when, as Mr. Roosevelt has pointed out, districts predominantly Catholic have repeatedly elected Protestants to office, and vice versa, Catholics have been chosen by several strongly Protestant States as their Chief Magistrates, or as their representatives in the Senate. Presidents of the United States have shown no lack of confidence in them, calling them into their cabinet, designating two of them to the exalted post of Chief Justice of the United States, and charging them with important posts at home and abroad. Religious issues have sometimes been injected into campaigns; never, however, by Catholics, so far as I can recall; but everyone has a feeling that it is unfortunate and un-American. It has been done mostly in secret, for its authors were ashamed of the light.

It is a new thing, for the present generation at least, to see the chief authorities of important religious bodies advocating the exclusion of loyal American citizens from office on the sole ground

of their religious allegiance. This act will be writ indellibly in the annals of our country in the chapter entitled "Religious Intolerance." And in the same chapter, history ought to record that the action, entirely clerical in origin, received no manifestation of sympathy with its aim or spirit from the laity, who thus earned the blame of their leaders (in things spiritual, but not in politics), and the approbation of the American people.

There must be no tampering with the delicate machinery by which religious liberty and equality are secured, and no fostering of any spirit which would tend to destroy that machinery. Religious passions are deep and strong; and any man in his senses who knows human nature or knows the history of Europe, and has at heart the future peace and happiness of our country, whatever his belief, will do nothing to introduce religious strife into the politics of America. Religious tolerance is not the easy superficial virtue it seems in these placid days; intolerance in the dominating party tends to produce intolerance in the injured party. Then religious peace is near an end, unless strong restraints be used. The spirit of the country has changed much in half a century, and it would be very difficult to arouse such fanaticism as I saw in the Know-Nothing days. Prudent men, men who are far-sighted, especially if they are in positions of responsibility, will work for peace and harmony. Such has always been the attitude of our Catholic hierarchy, and, with few exceptions, of our priesthood. I know not what to think of

men, putting themselves forward as the leaders of large religious bodies, who counsel the American people to depart from that policy which has promoted peace and good-will among us and has made us illustrious among nations for our spirit of liberty and liberality. What good can they hope to accomplish?

They say Catholicism and loyalty are logically incompatible; but if, as they acknowledge, they are felt *in fact* to be compatible, should they not rejoice? Do they wish to force Catholics to be disloyal? Or do they—ah! perhaps the motive lies here—do they wish to force Catholics to renounce the Pope and become good Protestants? But no, their motive is purely patriotic. Taking Catholicism even at their worst estimate of it, then, should they be willing to introduce into American life all the bitter and hard feeling that a political war on Catholics would certainly precipitate? Willing to incur great and inevitable present evils to ward off a danger centuries hence that they cannot believe real? Willing to punish henceforth and forever honest good Catholics whom they themselves acknowledge to be loyal Americans, because their descendants of the dim distant future might have an opportunity—they would not grasp it, confess even these fearful ones—to overturn American liberties? We may well smile at the shuddering of Major Lusk; but the proposal of these men in this age is inexcusable.

I am speaking in no tone of deprecation. We have nothing to fear for ourselves. We are strong,

not only in our own union and strength, but in the broad American spirit of fair play and love of liberty; and, I may be permitted to add, in our confidence that God destines the Catholic Church in this country to be the bulwark of law and order, of liberty, of social justice and purity. But I speak that I may put forth whatever strength I have to crush this detestable spirit of intolerance which, if it gained strength, would wreck the peace of the country and root out charity from the hearts of men.

"Let us uncover the hatchet!" shouts an excited Lutheran organ. Brothers, bury it. Far better for you and for the country if, when well out of sight of the Fatherland, you had silently dropped your hatchet into the deep.

Still, I do not deny that among some men who would oppose political discrimination against Catholics as unjust, unwise and unnecessary there remains a certain dread of Catholicism. They acknowledge that the Catholic Church in this country is an immense force for the public welfare, raising up native Catholics as patriotic Americans and moulding her foreign-born elements into a homogeneous people. The very sense of her strength, indeed, is in great part the cause of the dread; they fear the danger of a collision between the State and a Church whose head is a foreigner, and believes himself the representative of God upon earth. Catholic teaching, American principles of Government and the existing facts will show how baseless is this apprehension.

IV.

The distinction between the civil and the ecclesiastical powers is very firmly established in Catholic teaching. "The Almighty," says Pope Leo XIII, "has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil; the one being set over divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each.

Pius IX approved a pastoral of the Swiss bishops which teaches the same doctrine, that civil magistrates are "invested in their own domain with a full sovereignty," and that to them "we owe obedience and respect in all things morally permitted and belonging to the domain of civil society." This is but common Catholic doctrine.

The Church, then, holds that the civil government has divine authority, just as has the ecclesiastical; that the limits of each are fixed by the nature of its purpose; that within these limits each power is supreme; consequently, that the Church cannot intermeddle in affairs purely civil, nor the State in affairs purely ecclesiastical; and that members of the Church are bound to obey the State, within its own domain, in all things that do not contravene the moral law.

This distinction of the two spheres or zones of authority, as I may call them, lying in the very nature of their object, remains even if all the members of the State be Catholics. Cardinal Tarquini

a Jesuit writer of authority, states this clearly. "Civil society," he says, "even though every member of it be a Catholic, is not subject to the Church, but plainly independent in temporal things which regard its temporal end. * * * This is proved by reason. For, whatsoever is done in temporal matters, having in view a temporal end, is outside the domain of the Church. Now, it is a general rule that no society has power beyond its own scope. * * * Hence it follows that the State, although it be composed of Catholics, yet in temporal matters and from a temporal point of view, is by no means subordinate to the Church, but quite independent of her."

The establishment and the maintenance of this distinction is one of the greatest contributions of the Catholic Church to civilization. To us, in the twentieth century, the distinction seems obvious, almost self-evident; but in the ancient world religion was a mere function of the State. To the long struggle of the Papacy during the Middle Ages it is due that Christianity has not sunk into a Byzantine servitude. Guizot, the Protestant historian and statesman, gives to the Popes the credit for having "proclaimed and maintained the difference between Church and State, the distinction of the two societies of the two powers, of their respective domains and rights."

That in waging this titanic war the Popes always kept strictly within their legitimate domain, and even used their spiritual powers with the gentleness of pastors, Catholic historians are not concerned to maintain; Popes are human,

and it is plain from history that some of them did not always act moderately, wisely and in the spirit of Christ. But they had to do with a crude, brutal power which would have enslaved religion; and in a fierce struggle for the life of the Church such mistakes, humanly speaking, were inevitable. Only in defining doctrines for universal belief are the Popes infallible. They have been unflinching in maintaining the independence of a spiritual realm upon earth; and those who are so ready to pardon the mistakes of the great men of history whose work has uplifted humanity ought to be able to find some condonation for the occasional excessive claims of Popes, when it is realized that their efforts alone saved Europe from spiritual bondage.

When the Reformers rejected the authority of the Church, the distinction between the two powers was lost to them. The Church of England became subjected to the despotism of Henry VIII. The latest of the long series of humiliations which this connection has thrown on the Church of England is very recent. After maintaining for generations that the law of God forbids a man to marry his deceased wife's sister, and prohibiting her ministers from celebrating such a marriage, she is obliged to retract her ancient discipline because it has pleased Parliament, in which sit Atheists and Agnostics, to declare such marriages lawful. The State rules the Church. Lutheranism, so bold in its first outburst, became the creature of the civil powers before Luther's death; it remains so to this day. Zwingli handed over religion to

the care of the civil powers. Calvin went to the other extreme. He attempted a theocracy, failed, of course, and his religion likewise was committed to the keeping of the State. Every National Protestant church has been the creature of the State, subject to it in doctrine, ritual, discipline and government. Only the dissenting sects have been able to maintain a certain independence, and none of them were averse to union with the State which, with Protestantism, has always meant the subjection of the Church to the State.

The history of the Schismatical churches of the East repeats the same story. The Patriarchate of Constantinople was first the creature of the Byzantine Emperors, and then of the Mohammedan Sultan. The Church of Russia is the servant of the Tsar. The churches of the Balkan States, each in turn, broke away from the Patriarchs of Constantinople with the cry, "No head but Christ," only to fall under the despotism of the State.

If history points a lesson, then, it shows that the subjection of the religious to the secular authority, has ever followed separation from the Church of Rome. Now it will be objected that if Protestantism leans too much towards subservience to the State, the Catholic Church, on the other hand, has often acted strongly against the State, especially in the Middle Ages. I grant it, but I hold it was justified by the consent of nations and the public law of that day. Take the England of that period, for example: "As regards national feeling,"

says the latest and most scientific Protestant historian of the English Reformation.* "the people evidently regarded the cause of the Church as the cause of liberty. That their freedom suffered grievously by the abolition of Papal jurisdiction under Henry VIII there can be no manner of doubt." Again: "That Rome exercised her spiritual power by the willing obedience of Englishmen in general, and that they regarded it as a really wholesome power, even for the control it exercised over secular tyranny, is a fact which it requires no very intimate knowledge of early English literature to bring home to us."† And Gairdner adds that the separation was brought about by the power of a "despotic king" against the will of the people. In other countries, too, as the same writer says, the Popes were on the side of liberty and the people, against the despotism of the Crown. The Papacy was then universally considered the embodiment of justice and liberty upon earth. The Hague Tribunal today is a very faint image of the political function and power of the mediæval Papacy; and it is but a voice, while the Pope was a living power, restraining and civilizing society. "It is impossible," says the Anglican Dean Milman, "to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages without the mediæval Papacy." In an age of democracy and liberty, some gratitude, might be expected for the most powerful defender

*Gairdner, "Lollardy and the Reformation in England," p. 6.

†Ib., p. 5.

of the people and of liberty; yet the very success of the Papacy in their defence is the ground of the prejudice that exists against it.

V.

The political authority exercised by the mediæval Popes, then presupposed a united Christendom, and was part of the universally recognized international law. Yet, legitimate and beneficial as it was, it was seized upon by the Reformers as one of their chief arguments against the Papacy, and became one of their pretexts for repudiating Rome's spiritual authority. Ever since, the same weapon has been persistently and effectually employed by Protestant writers and divines against the Catholic religion. In consequence there are many persons today who, while they are profoundly impressed and attracted by the beauty, the discipline, the deep spiritual influence, and efficient moral force of the Catholic Church, yet hesitate to enter, simply because of their views regarding the political power claimed by the Pope in the Middle Ages. The power was lost when the unity of Christendom on the rise of the modern States ceased to be a fundamental principle of the law of nations; and when Germany, France, Russia, England and America shall be welded into a world-wide Christian confederation on the plan of the Holy Roman Empire, then, and not before, need statesmen discuss the possibility of a revival of the mediæval Papacy.

Catholics, then, may subscribe to the fundamen-

tal article of English Protestantism. "The Pope of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm," if it be understood of the realm of purely temporal affairs; and while we insist that he has the right to the free exercise of his spiritual authority over Catholics, we believe that in civil matters which do not contravene the moral law, we Catholics owe a full and unreserved allegiance to the civil authorities. The same Divine Voice, as I have often preached in the discharge of my pastoral office, * which gives us the command to render unto God the things of God, gives us the other command, of equally binding force, to render unto Cæsar the things of Cæsar.

But an objection is repeatedly cast up to Catholics which, repugnant though it is to my inmost feelings of loyalty and reverence towards the Holy Father, I must take into consideration; for utterly impracticable and absurd as it is in our eyes, it seems to haunt the minds of many outside the Church. Suppose, it is said, the Pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters, should not Catholics be bound to yield him obedience? The Pope will take no such act, we know, even though it is a part of Catholic Faith that he is infallible in the exercise of his authority; but were he to do so he would stand self-condemned, a transgressor of the law he himself promulgates. He would be offending not only against civil society, but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as His own. Any Catholic

*See e. g. the sermon on "Obedience to all Lawful Authority' in my Discources and Sermons on Various Subjects."

who clearly recognized this, would not be bound to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law which under no circumstances can we ever lawfully disobey.

Some controversialists in this country, gravelled for matter of complaint against the Papal dealings with America, have invented the fable that Pius IX recognized the Southern Confederacy. Of course the facts refute them, as the Pope merely extended to Mr. Jefferson Davis the courtesy which one gentleman owes another of addressing him by his official title. They cling to the serviceable fable; and proceed to shudder at the thought of what might have happened if, in the crisis of our Civil War, the President had been a Catholic. Let me relieve them by stating what would have occurred. A Catholic President would act, under the circumstances, precisely as Abraham Lincoln; he would treat the recognition with a respectful silence, and continue to prosecute the war to the best of his ability. If he acted otherwise he would be a traitor to his conscience and his God, to his country and to the Constitution which he had sworn to uphold. And he would have Catholic theological teaching at his back.

The Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmine says: "In order to resist and defend oneself, no authority is required. * * * Therefore, as it is lawful to resist the Pope if he assaulted a man's person, so it is lawful to resist him if he assaulted souls or troubled the State, and much more if he strove to

destroy the Church. It is lawful, I say, to resist him by not doing what he commands and hindering the execution of his will." My venerable and learned predecessor in the See of Baltimore, Archbishop Kenrick, speaks in a similar strain; the Pope's "power was given for edification, not for destruction; if he used it for love of domination (quod absit) scarcely will he meet with obedient populations."

We may put aside, then, as an absurdity the injurious supposition that the Pope would ever interfere in purely civil affairs. But is there not a twilight zone over which both Church and State put forth claims? True; and I grant that here a collision of authorities comes more within the horizon of possibility. But the American concept of government and of liberty puts this hypothesis outside of the range of practical affairs. That concept, as I understand it, is that the Government should leave as large a liberty as possible to individuals and to bodies within the State, only intervening in the interests of morality, justice and the common weal. There are forces at work in the country, I know, that tend to paternalism and Cæsarism in Government; but true Americanism recognizes that these forces would bring disaster on American liberties. So long as these liberties, under which we have prospered, are preserved in their fulness there is, I assert, no danger of a collision between the State and the Catholic Church.

The admission, however, of the merely theoretical possibility of such a collision keeps alive the apprehension of timid Protestants, and is suffi-

cient to determine some of them to deprive Catholics forever of the honor of the Presidency. But if no man were to be considered eligible for the Presidency unless we were certain that under no conceivable circumstances would his conscience come into conflict with any possible legislation, then the first consideration to qualify a man as candidate for the office would be that he should have no conscience at all.

"But," many Protestants say, "we obey our conscience; you obey the Pope." Yes; we obey the Pope, for our conscience tells us that we ought to obey the spiritual authority of the Pope in everything except what is sinful. "But," they reply, "we do not believe that any human power should come between the human conscience and duty." Neither do we; but while you believe in private judgment, we believe in a religion of authority which our conscience tells us is our lawful guide and teacher in its own sphere. You say that you believe in religious freedom. Do you, however, interpret this freedom to apply only to yourselves; or are you willing to conceive that to others likewise is to be left the freedom to follow their consciences? You can conceive a State passing laws that would violate your conscientious convictions. Would you accept these laws, or would you resist them as your fellow-religionists in England recently resisted an education law of which they did not approve? I think you would not prove false to your religious convictions.

Were the State to attempt to compel Orthodox Jews to accept the Sunday for the Sabbath, or to

abandon certain Levitical observances which are sacred in their eyes, they would not be worth their salt if they did not resist this encroachment on their rights. Similarly, for example, if the State should forbid us Catholics to continue our parochial schools, we should resist to the uttermost; for we hold that, while the State has the undoubted right to compel her future citizens to receive a certain degree of education, she has no right to deprive them of the daily religious influence which we deem necessary for their spiritual and eternal welfare, as well as for their proper training in the duties of citizenship. In any such essay by the State to establish Cæsarism, Catholics would behave precisely as any other conscientious body would behave. They would not think it necessary to await instructions from any source. We believe in the sacredness and supremacy of conscience; and rulers of the world, from Nero to Clemenceau, have found the Catholic conscience to be a wall of adamant.

VI.

It cannot be regarded as strange that Protestants should feel free to assail the Catholic Church regarding her position on the Union of Church and State. Wherever in Europe the opportunity presented itself, the various Protestant churches united with the State; nay, rather, they threw themselves at the feet of the State and said: "Rule thou over us. Be thou our King and our Prophet." But the Catholic Church has always

retained her spiritual independence; her union with the State has always been an alliance of independent powers, not the subjection of a vassal to her liege lord. Her doctrine on the subject has been this; in a country wholly or predominantly Catholic, the most desirable relation is the friendly union and co-operation of Church and State, neither power sacrificing its liberty and each acknowledging the other. That this is the ideal relation, provided liberty be assured to those not of the established Church, no sensible man can deny. The Catholic Church states in form of doctrine what all history shows to be inevitable—that where the Church and State are practically two names for the nation, viewed as a body of worshippers and as a political entity, it is impossible to prevent an intimate union. If my Protestant friends will show me a free nation that really believes in one religion and has no union of religion with the State, I will believe the Catholic doctrine unwarranted.

But while the union is ideally best, history assuredly does not prove that it is always practically best. There is a union that is inimical to the interests of religion, and consequently to the State; and there is a separation that is inimical to the interests of religion, and consequently to the State; and there is a separation that is for the best interests of both. In our country separation is a necessity; and it is a separation that works best for the interests of religion, as Mr. Taft recently stated, as well as for the good of the State. I fully agree with him, and I can understand, too, and sympathize with the

great Catholic leader of France, the Count de Mun, who recently exclaimed: "In America separation means the reign of liberty; in France the reign of impiety."

American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State; and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which should make a union desirable either to Church or State. We know the blessings of our present arrangement; it gives us liberty and binds together priests and people in a union better than that of Church and State. Other countries, other manners; we do not believe our system adapted to all conditions; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problems for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, "in this happy country of ours," to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where "religion and liberty are natural allies."

THE CLAIMS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MAKING OF THE REPUBLIC

THE CLAIMS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MAKING OF THE REPUBLIC.

What can make a man so good a citizen as the religion which teaches him the oneness of truth, fidelity to God, to his country, to marriage, to conscience, and applies itself directly every day to strengthening those forces which conserve or purify society and exalt the soul?—Geo. Parsons Lathrop.

First in discovery, first in the establishment of Christianity, first in the organization of civil government, first in proclaiming religious toleration.

THE United States grew out of the colonies established on the Atlantic seaboard, and also out of those portions of the continent that were purchased from European countries and gained by conquest. To state fully that the Catholic Church has contributed to the making of the United States, it is necessary to say what she has done, not only since, but also before the act of Independence, in the territories now comprised in the Union. Has she helped to break ground as well as to plant and foster the growth of the tree of liberty?

To the Catholic Church must of necessity be attributed all that was done in the New World since Columbus until the rise of the Reformation. After the event of Protestantism in the world, she

did not cease her work in this continent; but it has been fertilized by the sweat and blood of Catholic explorers, founders of colonies and missionaries, not only in South America—which field, however, I leave aside as being out of our theme—but also from the Canadian borders to the southermost coast of Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

All over these United States you will meet the monuments of their passage. The work of the Catholic Church in this land during this period might be distributed under the following heads: Discoverers, Founders of Colonies, Explorers, Missionaries, Writers. Of course a full treatment of this matter is beyond the limits of this paper. I can only make a few suggestions.

De Soto discovered the Mississippi and named it in honor of the Holy Ghost. Marquette threaded it for a great distance and dedicated it to the Immaculate Conception. Hennepin ascended to the Falls which he named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. Ponce de Leon named Florida to commemorate its discovery on the Feast of the Resurrection. Ayllon named the Carolinas the land of St. John the Baptist, and bestowed on the Chesapeake the name of St. Mary. New Mexico bears the name given by a Catholic missionary 300 years ago. In one word they were Catholic navigators, who gave Catholic names to river, bay, promontory, cape, from the river of St. John in the south to the river of St. Lawrence in the north.

Maryland counts among her founders the Catholic Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and

Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. The Catholic Colony of Maryland was the first home on this continent of civil and religious liberty. Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles was the founder of a colony in Florida; Antoine de la Motte Cadillac the founder of a colony in Michigan; Vincennes the founder of a colony in Indiana; La Salle, of a colony in Illinois; St. Ange, of a colony in Missouri; Touti, of a colony in Arkansas; Iberville, of a colony in Louisiana; Sauville, of a colony in Mississippi; Bienville, the founder of Mobile; Don Juan de Onate, of New Mexico; Don Gasper de Portola, of California.

The first great explorers were Champlain, who named the Lake in Vermont; Pierrot and Nicollet, on the upper lakes; Duluth, on Lake Superior; Louis Joliet, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, La Verendrye, Coronado, Font, Garces, Kuhn, Saint Denys, in other parts of the land. By these men the valley of the great lakes, the valley of the Mississippi and the plains to the Gulf of California were made known before the English colonists had any definite knowledge beyond the Alleghenies.

Not only were Catholics the first explorers, but they were the first geologists and botanists of the territory within the limits of the present United States. Le Moyne found the salt springs of Onondaga, the Franciscan Joseph de la Roche d'Allion the oil Springs of Pennsylvania, Jesuits the copper of Lake Superior and the lead of Illinois, a Jesuit identified the ginseng, Hennepin

was one of the first to note our beds of coal, Father Mare the mines of turquoise.

This is but an incomplete list of explorations made by the Catholics before the Revolution. It proves, however, that they had left no important portion of our territory hidden and unknown from Europe; their reports and relations of their voyage are the evidences of their discoveries.

Catholic priests came with Columbus and his followers in trans-Atlantic voyages. A priest sailed with Cabot from Bristol in 1498. Missionaries came with Ponce de Leon in 1521 to minister to the intended settlements in Florida and to labor for the conversion of the Indians.

In 1526 two friars of the order of Saint Dominic came with the colony of Vasquez d'Ayllon, established at or near the site of Jamestown, Va., which settlement was afterward abandoned. In 1558 eight priests came with De Soto and perished in the marches of that discoverer across the country. In 1542 the Franciscan Juan de Padilla began a mission among the Indians of New Mexico and fell a martyr to his zeal. The mission, however, was re-established and kept up by the Franciscans. In 1696, five were massacred; in 1751, many Catholic Indians were killed by their pagan fellows, and the missions were destroyed.

In 1702, the Jesuit Nicholas Foucault was murdered by the Indians on his way from Arkansas to Mobile. In 1729, the Jesuit Du Poissen and with him a lay brother was murdered while going to New Orleans. The Jesuit, Antonius Senat, chaplain to Vincennes, was burned at the stake

by Chickasaws in Mississippi, Palm Sunday, 1736. Three Dominicans, Luis Cancer, Diego de Tolosa, Juan Garcia, were massacred by Florida Indians in 1549. Pedro Menendez founded St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, and with him were Franciscans, Jesuits, and a secular priest, Mendoza Grajales.

A year after the founding of St. Augustine, a Jesuit, Pedro Martinez, was killed by the Indians at Cumberland. In 1571, two Jesuit fathers, J. B. de Segura and Luis de Qurios, with four lay brothers were butchered on the banks of the Rappahannock, Va. In 1597 four Franciscans were slain in Florida, and one, Francesco de Velascola, in Georgia, while Francesco de Avila was enslaved by the savages.

The labors of these missionaries were not without fruit for the time being, but we must confess that the results were not permanent. The natives associated with the religion preached by them, the greed and cruelties of the Spanish invaders. At this period, as in later times, the Christians themselves were the obstacle to the success of the missions among the red men.

In New Mexico a better result seemed to have been gained down to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Indians, exasperated by the conduct of the Spanish Governor, and excited to fanaticism by the medicine men, turned on the Spaniards and slew 21 Franciscans. In 1682 three priests left by LaSalle at the mouth of the Mississippi were massacred. In 1721 Brother Jose Pita was slain in Texas, and in 1752 Jose F. de Ganzabel at San Ildefonso in the same State; in 1757,

Father Silva, near the Rio Grande, and in 1758 Fathers Terreros and Santiesteban and Melina at the Apache mission.

The history of the MISSIONS IN THE NORTERN STATES is not quite so early, but is of more interest to us and is better known. In 1604 a chapel was built on De Moorts or Neutral Island, in the present State of Maine. The settlers were removed the following year to Nova Scotia. In 1611 Father Biard offered Mass on an island in the mouth of the Kennebec. Two years later, in the attack made on LaSaussaye's settlement, near Mt. Desert, Fathers Biard, Quentin and Masse suffered various fates. In 1641 Isaac Jogues and Charles Reymbault planted the cross at Sault Ste Marie, Michigan. Jogues was massacred in 1649, near Auriesville, Montgomery county, New York, by the Mohawks.

In 1680 the Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde was slain by the Kickapoos in Illinois. In 1706 Constantine Deshulles was shot by the Ottawas while engaged in a mission of peace to that tribe from the Miamis. In 1728 Louis Guigras was captured by Indians near Lake Pepin, and was saved from death by adoption into the tribe. In 1736 Peter Aulneau was slain at the Lake of the Woods. In 1724 Father Râle was slain by the English and the Mohawks at Norridgewock.

Few of these missions had any permanency for the same reasons that rendered the work of the missionaries ineffective in the Spanish Colonies. The Whites, with their vices, undid what the missionaries, with their heroic and disinter-

ested zeal, tried to do. Such we know is the state of things today in our Indian missions. The conversion of the barbarian races in the early centuries of Christianity was effected under quite other conditions.

The Church has not been untrue to her mission of teaching nations, nor has she at any time failed to find apostles ready at her call; but Christian peoples and Governments, instead of seconding her efforts, have put obstacles in her way, seemingly more intent on selfish aims than on the spread of truth and the salvation of souls. On them, not on her, rests the responsibility of failure in gaining to Christianity the aborigines of this continent. Future history will count our Indian wars and our Indian policy a sad commentary on our Christian civilization.

Naturally those discoverers, founders of colonies, explorers and missionaries, must have left behind them a very large amount of literature concerning the countries now comprised within the United States. It would be a very difficult task to make out a complete bibliography of American literature before the Revolution; this much is certain at first sight, the largest share of such literature must fall to the credit of Catholic writers. The introduction to the first volume of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Justin Winsor, deals with Americana in Libraries and Bibliographies, and with Early Descriptions of America and Collective Accounts of the early Voyages thereto. For

further information on this point I refer the reader to this most learned work.

However, to give an idea of the vast amount of literature that had been produced on America before the period of the Revolution, I transcribe one item from page 4 of the above-named introduction.

"M. Terneaux Compans, who had collected—as Mr. Brevoort thinks—the most extensive library of books on America ever brought together, printed his 'Bibliotheque Americaine' in 1837 at Paris. It embraced 1,154 works arranged chronologically, and all of them of a date before 1700."

From works written on or in the Indian languages by Catholic missionaries a long catalogue might be made out. I will name a few: Works in the Timaquan language of Florida, by Father Francis Pareya, O. S. F., printed between 1612 and 1627, including a grammar, catechism, prayers; Sagard's Wyandot Dictionary, 1632; Father White's books on the Maryland language, written soon after 1634; Bruya's Mohawk works, the Onondaga Dictionary; Garnier's Seneca and Cayuga books; Râles' Abnaki Dictionary, Le Boulanger's Illinois Dictionary and Cathechism, Garcia's Texan Manual, the works of Sitjar, Cuesta and other California missionaries.

All these were published before the independence of the Colonies. Works of the same kind by Catholic missionaries since the Revolution down to the present day would swell the list to an inconvenient length. When came the uprising of the colonies and the war for independence, our coun-

try stood in need of loyalty in the masses, statesmanship in the leaders, money in the treasury, and fighting men in the field. Out of a population of 3,0000,000 at that time the Catholic Church counted not more than 30,000 members. However, of loyalty, statesmanship, money and men she furnished more than her share.

I leave aside the help that France and Spain gave to the struggling colonies, and speak only of what our Catholic forefathers at home did for their country. Their loyalty to their native land was not, and has never been questioned; Toryism was not found among them; they had fled English misrule and tyranny; they were anxious to break off entirely with the land that only by a misnomer could be called the Mother Country.

Although Catholics had fared ill at the hands of their fellow-colonists; although in all the colonies they were oppressed with unjust penal laws; although on the very eve of the War of Independence an outbreak of bigotry ran through the land on the occasion of the compliance of England to the treaty with France, in virtue of which, religious liberty and protection were guaranteed to Canada; although Methodists, with John Wesley, sided with England, and a very large portion of the Episcopalians took the same course, and Quakers, conscientiously averse to war, remained neutral, the Catholics spontaneously and universally adhered to the cause of independence.

Every Catholic was a Whig. Look into Sabine's "American Loyalists" (Boston, 1847). You will find there not one single Catholic name.

Catholic Indians were animated with the sentiments of their white co-religionists, and in the North and in the West, under the lead of their own or Canadian chiefs, took to the field against England in the cause of liberty. Canada without a doubt would have thrown her lot in with ours at that period had not New York politicians, led by John Jay, drawn the Continental Congress into the fatal mistake of denouncing the Canadians and their religion for the liberty England had granted them. As it was, the men of St. Regis marched forth under Captain Lewis, and the army counted two regiments of soldiers from Canada.

Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Illinois furnished Catholic recruits out of all proportion to their number in the total population. The failure of the British to raise a Catholic regiment during their occupation of Philadelphia, in spite of extraordinary inducements, is evidence of the deep patriotism of the Catholic population in those days. Although before the war Catholics were debarred from holding a commission in the militia, yet many speedily rose to high positions in the Continental army, and were among the most trusted of Washington's aids. The roll of those Catholic officers is a long and glorious one.

On the seas the great Commodore of our Navy was "saucy Jack Barry"! To detach him from the American cause Lord Howe offered him 15,000 guineas and the command of the best frigate in the English Navy. "I have devoted myself,"

was the answer, "to the cause of America, and not the value and command of the whole British fleet can seduce me from it."

Not only in the field and on the quarter-deck, but also in the council rooms did Catholics have worthy and remarkable representatives. These put at the service of their country not only their wisdom, but their wealth. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; his cousin, Daniel Carroll, a brother of Archbishop Carroll; Thomas Fitzsimmons, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, and Thomas Sim Lee were all prominent examples of patriotism during the Revolutionary War, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

The Catholics of that day were as one to one hundred and twenty in numbers. Both in council, and especially in war, they contributed far beyond their share in the winning of liberty and the forming of this country. One of the reasons Benedict Arnold gave for his treason was that his zeal for Protestantism would not permit him to remain in a service which constantly brought him in contact with Roman Catholics. After the election of Washington to the Presidency, an address on behalf of the Catholics of the country was presented to him signed by Rev. J. Carroll, Charles Carroll, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons and Dominic Lynch. In his reply to this address Washington concluded with these words: "I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberty. And I presume your fellow-citizens will not forget the

patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their Government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Catholic faith is professed."

When the Father of his Country came to the end of his glorious life Archbishop Carroll, in a circular letter to his clergy, dated December 29, 1799, thus writes: "We Roman Catholics, in common with our fellow-citizens of the United States, have to deplore the irreparable loss our country has sustained by the death of that great man who contributed so essentially to the establishment and preservation of its peace and prosperity. We are, therefore, called upon by every consideration of respect to his memory and gratitude for his services to bear a public testimony of our high sense of his worth when living, and our sincere sorrow for being deprived of that protection which the United States derived from his wisdom, his experience, his reputation, and the authority of his name."

In all subsequent wars that our country has had to undergo, the American armies have swarmed with Catholic soldiers, and have produced a long line of officers who have reached the highest position of command. Of the service of Catholics in our Civil War I need not speak; the memory of them is living in the land.

Not only Catholic soldiers and sailors, officers and chaplains, but also our Sisters of Charity, on the field and in the hospital, have proved our loyalty to the country and demonstrate better than

many words, long statistics and eloquent description what the Church has done for the United States in the trying days of the fratricidal war. Catholics were then but a small percentage of the whole population. Our contribution to the armies raised was far beyond that proportion. But it is not necessary to insist; no one questions the service we rendered them.

It is well known that in the War of 1812 the Catholics of New Orleans welcomed back to the city the victorious hero of the battle that decided the fortunes of that crisis, General Jackson, and in his presence celebrated in the Cathedral a solemn service of thanksgiving to Almighty God.

Just as in the War of Independence Rev. John Carroll, afterward first Bishop of Baltimore, went on a political mission with the commissioners appointed by Congress to secure the neutrality of Canada, so also in our Civil War Archbishop Hughes, of New York, and Bishop Domenec, of Pittsburgh, performed confidential missions to European powers, and it is certain that Archbishop Hughes helped to secure the neutrality of France, and Bishop Domenec that of Spain.

The Catholics came out of the struggle for independence a hundred and forty years ago with an honorable record. It is a remarkable coincidence that the organization of the American Church, begun in the appointment of John Carroll to the See of Baltimore, was contemporaneous with the organization of the United States, completed for

the time being by the election of George Washington to the Presidency.

The struggle had educated the American people up to the idea and understanding of religious liberty. Laws discriminating against Catholics disappeared from the statute books of most of the States, and liberty of worship gradually was proclaimed everywhere. The two clauses of the Constitution, one providing that "Congress shall not require any religious test as a qualification for office under the United States," and the other providing that "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or forbidding the free exercise thereof," exerted a powerful moral influence on the States, and infused a new spirit into their several Constitutions.

On the other hand, the dominant idea in the mind of Bishop Carroll, who was as great a statesman as he was a churchman, an idea that has remained the inspiration of the Church, and has dictated all her policy of the last century, as recorded in the legislation of the three National Councils of Baltimore, was absolute loyalty to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

Bishop Carroll did not wish to see the Church vegetate as a delicate exotic plant. He wished it to become a sturdy tree, deep-rooted in the soil, to grow with the growth and bloom with the development of the country, inured to its climate, braving its storms, invigorated by them and yielding abundantly the fruits of sanctification. His aim was that the clergy and people should be thor-

oughly identified with the land in which their lot is cast; that they should study its laws and political constitution, and be in harmony with its spirit. From this mutual accord of Church and State there could but follow beneficent effects for both.

I have already stated what the Church did for the country in times of war. I now go on to outline briefly what benefits she has bestowed in the fairer fields of peace, education, industry and benevolence. These are the proper fields for her action. In these lie her nobler triumphs and greater gifts to man.

Among the greatest services that may be rendered to a nation is the increase of its industrial and producing population—of that class which, by labor and thrift, contribute to the growth not only of the numbers, but also of the wealth of the country. In 1776 the Catholics were about 25,000, or 1-120th of the entire population; in 1790 they were 32,000, or 1-107th of the population.

Progressively they grew in numbers until today they are at least 16,500,000, or almost one-sixth of the population. During thirty years prior to 1876 the Irish contributed over 2,000,000 to the country. The Germans came next, but for some years the emigration from Germany outnumbered that from the British Isles; a large proportion of the German contingent is Catholic.

At the present time the Italian and Hungarian arrivals are more numerous, combined, than either the Irish or the German, taken singly. Besides immigration, there have been other sources of

increase which must be credited to the Catholic element; accessions by the annexation of Louisiana, California, Texas and New Mexico, and the birth rate.

The birth rate in the United States is all in favor of the Church. The Irish, the Catholic Germans and the Canadians are proverbially prolific; and there are other reasons which we may not enter upon here, and which point to an entirely disproportionate increase of Catholics in the near future.

This is especially remarkable in the New England States. During the heated controversy upon the school question in Massachusetts, a Protestant writer in one of the leading magazines counseled moderation to her co-religionists, on the ground that Catholics would soon make the laws of Massachusetts. Their birth rate in that State was to that of Protestants in the proportion of four and a half to one; and the example of Massachusetts would appear to be finding imitation throughout the States.

The increase of clergy and churches has kept pace with the increase of population. In 1790 we had one Bishop, 30 priests and a proportionate number of churches. Today we count 14 Archbishops, of whom 3 are Cardinals; 97 Bishops, 19,572 priests and 15,163 churches.

It goes without saying that a certain amount of property is necessary to the carrying on of the Church's work, and that such property must have grown apace with our numbers. The property of the Church is not wealth, strictly speaking, if by

wealth is understood accumulated or surplus capital. We cannot be said to have wealth, since our churches, our educational and charitable establishments are not sufficient for our numbers, and are yet in a struggle for bare existence.

What may be the value of the property held by the Catholic Church today we have no certain means of telling, and await with some curiosity the verdict of the late United States census on that point. Individual Catholics, though not necognized among the great millionaires of the land, have grown wealthy.

One hundred years ago, when Georgetown College was founded, $100 was considered a munificent donation; a few years ago when the Catholic University was founded in Washington donations of $10,000, $20,000, $50,000, $100,000, and one single donation of $300,000 were forthcoming. In St. Paul, Minn., a man, a Protestant himself, yet the husband of a Catholic and the father of a Catholic family, made to Archbishop Ireland the princely gift of $500,000 for an ecclesiastical institute of learning.

In 1789 there was but one Catholic educational house in the land, Georgetown College. Today there are 85 ecclesiastical seminaries for the training of candidates to the priesthood, 210 colleges, and about 685 female academies. This vast system of secondary education is crowned by a National school of the highest grade, the Catholic University of America, lately opened at Washington, and destined in a short time to be a crowning and completing of all the branches of

learning begun in the primary and pursued further in the secondary schools of the Catholic educational system. For, if the Church in this land has such a system, it is forced to it by the necessities of the case.

I go into no controversial considerations on the school question; I simply state a fact; the public school as now conducted, admirable as it certainly is in point of instruction, cannot fully satisfy the Catholic idea of education. Catholics, therefore, are driven to the hard necessity of fostering a system of Catholic primary schools—a hard necessity, since they must add to the taxes they pay to the public school system of the country, large contributions for the building and running of their own schools. Thereby they are rendering to their country a double service.

For every child they educate in the Catholic schools they spare to the State a proportionate expense. To every child they educate in the Catholic schools they impart the essential principles of good citizenship, religion and morality. I prove this latter assertion by words of George Washington:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. * * *

And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.

"Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience, both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles. It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. This rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"

Catholics have today in the United States 5,588 parochial schools, giving education to 1,497,949 children. Taking together our secondary schools, academies and colleges, our primary schools, parochial schools proper, and certain of our charitable institutions, the chief work of which is the bringing up of orphans, I think I am safe in asserting that we educate nearly 1,600,000 children.

Of late years a movement which has become very widespread in England is beginning to take on respectable proportions in this country; it is known as the University Extension, and is an effort to extend to the masses and popularize even higher education. Something of the kind is in existence among Catholics, and has been for some time past.

In many cities there are Catholic literary societies, made up mostly of young men, graduates of our colleges and high schools. These are, as it were, an extension of secondary education. More-

over, in almost every parish there is in existence, or there is being formed, a Reading Circle, which is as the extension of the elementary school. It is evident from what I have stated in this paragraph that the Church favors the education and the continual intellectual development of her members, and in so far renders valuable service to the Republic.

The negroes are our fellow-citizens, the Indians are the wards of the nation; whoever labors for the welfare of these two classes of fellow-men does service to his country. For them what has the Catholic Church done, and what is she doing? In a sermon preached on the occasion of the Baltimore Centenary, Archbishop Ryan spoke some solemn words on these two questions.

"I believe," he said, "that in the last century we could have done more for the colored people of the South and the Indian tribes. I believe that negro slavery and the unjust treatment of the Indians are the two great blots upon the American civilization. So I feel that in the Church, also, the most reasonable cause for regret in the past century is the fact that more could have been done for the same dependent classes."

Too true. But there are signs of a revival of the zeal in these two fields of missionary work. Not many years ago a noble-hearted woman, Miss Drexel, devoted herself and her very large fortune to the negro and Indian missions, and annually the sum of $70,000 or $80,000 is contributed by the Catholics of the United States to the same purpose.

Present statistics show that 200,000 negroes are members of the Catholic Church; that they have 110 places of worship, 156 schools, giving education to 16,000 children; 26 orphanages and charitable institutions. One hundred and eighty-three priests minister to the Catholic colored population, and lately a college and ecclesiastical seminary have been established in Baltimore, appropriated exclusively to the training of candidates for the priesthood, who will devote themselves entirely to the Negro Catholic missions.

There lies before the Catholic Church a duty toward the colored population of the United States which she will not neglect, and in which, once she gives herself earnestly to the task, success cannot fail to attend her efforts.

We have seen in the beginning of this paper how heroically the early Catholic missionaries labored and died in the task of converting the Indian tribes to Christianity. The obstacles that were then in the way of complete success increased with the flow of white settlers, and are in full operation today, with the addition of a political situation anything but favorable.

Indians are not considered to be free men, but the wards of the nation. Religious liberty, in the sense we understand and enjoy it, is not among the rights accorded to them. The policy of the Government has not been always uniform in this respect. At one time the tribes were parcelled out for religious and educational training among various religious bodies, and Catholic Indians were assigned to non-Catholic ministers and

teachers. The present administration seems inclined to adopt a system not less unfavorable to the work of the Church—that of Governmental schools, from which all Christianity, or at least all Catholic Christianity, will be excluded. However, the good sense of the American people may interfere with the complete execution of that plan.

At the present moment statistics of the Church's work among the Indians stand thus: Catholic Indians, about 100,000; churches, 260; priests laboring exclusively among them, 164; schools, 68; pupils in Catholic schools, 5,000.

I can speak only briefly of the charities under Catholic supervision. We count in the United States numerous charitable institutions directly under the control of the Church, and in the hands of men and women who are exclusively devoted by vows of religion to the many works of Christian benevolence.

There is no phase of human misery and affliction for which the Church does not provide some antidote, some alleviation. She has foundling asylums to receive and shelter abandoned infants, orphan asylums to be homes for children whom death has left without father or mother, hospitals for every species of bodily and mental disease, Magdalen asylums or Houses of the Good Shepherd for the shelter and reclaiming of women who have fallen victims to their own weakness, or to the false promises of the seducer; reformatories for boys that have taken the first step in the path of vice, or are exposed to its dangers; retreats for the aged, where men and women with-

out homes find on the threshold of the grave a refuge from the storms of life, and a novitiate to prepare them for eternity.

Besides the charitable institutions which are in the hands of religious men and women, there is a very large number of societies, beneficent in their character and aims, the management of which is left in the hands of Catholic laymen who compose their membership, though more or less under the sanction and control of their respective pastors. Such are the Mutual Benevolent Societies; their aims are very much alike, but their names are many and various and their aggregate membership runs up into the hundreds of thousands. These societies very naturally are formed on lines of nationality; they are Irish, German, American, Polish, Canadian, etc.

In contrast with these Mutual Benevolent Associations is the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which is based on no national lines, but is strictly Catholic, being made up as to membership of all nationalities, and doing its work among all without distinction of race or color. Almost every parish in cities has a St. Vincent de Paul Society attached to it.

The members of this admirable association visit personally the poor in their homes, inquire into their condition, and distribute aid where it will do the most good. They give their services gratuitously, and the means to accomplish their work are gathered by voluntary offerings and by contributions bestowed by themselves in such a man-

ner that no member knows what his neighbor contributes.

Of late years the care of immigrants landing in New York has attracted the attention and engaged the sympathies of our Catholic Associations. This work is only at its beginning; already two houses, one for German, the other for Irish immigrants, have been opened in New York, to serve as bureaus of information and temporary lodging places. The work of colonizing immigrants in the Western States and Territories has been undertaken and carried on with great success by colonizing societies.

The great social problem is that of capital and labor; many are the schemes that have been put out to solve the problem. But they are all partial and incomplete remedies, because they look only to the material and temporal interests of man, and man after all is something more than a being of matter and time. He is a being under a higher dispensation, under the law of Christian charity. All social schemes based on the assumption that man's good lies in the natural order alone, must fail. The brotherhood of man is a dream unless it be founded in the Fatherhood of God. In the Christian dispensation in which we live the natural order cannot stand without the support of the supernatural order. The Catholic Church is the authorized representative and exponent of the supernatural order. True, it is not her official duty to devise special social schemes for special social disorders; but it is her duty to see to it that all schemes devised are founded on

Christian principles, and do not antagonize the law of nature and the law of God.

An illustration of her position in this social question of labor and capital was given a few years ago, when, on the representation of the American Hierarchy, the Holy Father forebore to take action against the Knights of Labor, thus admitting that labor has its rights in the face of capital, and is justified in asserting those rights as long as the means employed are not against natural justice or divine law.

On that occasion a very great service was rendered to the country, to the laboring masses and to the capitalist class also. For is it not better for capital to find itself in the presence of moral right and force than in the presence of physical might and brute force? That service is but the earnest of many to come in the same line for which the country may have to bless and thank the Catholic Church. She above all religious bodies has the authority to speak frankly the truth to all, rich and poor, and the moral power to enforce that truth on the prouder classes and on the humbler but more dangerous because more aggrieved masses.

One great evil that threatens the American people is divorce. Divorce means contempt of the marriage bond, avoidance of the responsibilities and duties of family life; it means the sapping of society at its very sources. The nation where divorce is of wide extension and long continuance, must perish. Such is the verdict of logic and history. The Catholic Church never allows complete

divorce, but allows for certain good reasons "limited divorce," or separation from bed and board.

This limited divorce is hardly known or sought after by non-Catholics; for out of 328,716 divorces granted between the years 1867 and 1886, only 2,099 were limited divorces, and no doubt many, if not all, of these were granted to Catholic parties. That was a revelation to make a lover of his country pause in saddest musing, the report made on order of Congress by Carroll D. Wright. Within twenty years 328,716 divorces had been granted in the United States. Within that period the population had increased 60 per cent., the divorces 157 per cent.

The different aspects of this statistical report deserve study. Out of these many aspects I wish to present one that has a bearing on the main purpose of this paper. In Connecticut there was in the year 1874-75 one divorce for every 8.84 and 8.81 marriages. Gradually this proportion diminished to one divorce for every 13.09 marriages in 1886. In Vermont the proportion was in 1874-75 one divorce to 14.97 and 14.26 marriages; in 1886 one divorce to 20.06 marriages. In Massachusetts in 1878 one divorce to 22.54 marriages; in 1886 the proportion was one divorce to 31.89 marriages. Meanwhile in all the other States the proportion was on a steady increase.

Now the question is, how account for the decrease in the above-named States? Here is the account in one word: The increase of the Catholic population in those States. It is well worth

while quoting a remark of Mr. Carroll D. Wright on this point:

"However great and growing be the number of divorces in the United States, it is an incontestable fact that it would be still greater were it not for the widespread influence of the Roman Catholic Church."

The only remedy to this terrible evil is a return to the legislation of the Church, which is the legislation of Jesus Christ Himself, on matrimony.

The Divine institution of a day of rest from ordinary occupations and of religious worship, transferred by the authority of the Church from the Sabbath, the last day, to Sunday, the first day of the week, has always been revered in this country, has entered into our legislation and customs, and is one of the most patent signs that we are a Christian people.

The neglect and abandonment of this observance would be sure evidence of a departure from the Christian spirit in which our past national life has been moulded. In our times, as in all times past, the enemies of religion are the opponents, secret or avowed, of the Christian Sabbath. A close observer cannot fail to note the dangerous inroads that have been made on the Lord's Day in this country within the last quarter of a century. He renders a service to his country who tries to check this dangerous tendency to desecration.

It would not be difficult to show that the observance of Sunday is fraught with the greatest social blessings; as proof, look at the social ills that

have befallen those Christian nations that have lost respect for it. Solicitous to avert from the United States those disastrous consequences, the Catholic Church has been a strenuous upholder of the sacred character of the Lord's Day. On no point has she been more clear and emphatic in her legislation, recorded in her Plenary Councils, and notably in the Third Plenary Council held in Baltimore in 1884. It is to be hoped that all her children in these States, casting aside the abuses of the European lands whence they come, may accept loyally and carry out thoroughly that salutary legislation.

Akin more or less to all the foregoing questions, intimately bound up with the observance of Sunday, with the sufferings of the laboring classes, and with education, is the question of Temperance. The greatest statesmen of all times have seen in drunkenness the direst plague of society, the main source of its crimes and pauperism.

However, to pass on to more relative considerations, if he who seeks to stay and remove the curse of drink is to be accounted a social benefactor, then we may claim that attribution for the Church. The legislation of the Council of Baltimore is precise and vigorous in this matter; Catholic Total Abstinence and Father Mathew Societies are everywhere in the land. Some years ago in a brief address to Archbishop Ireland, the Holy Father, Leo XIII, gave his approbation, in words that cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted, to total abstinence as an efficacious remedy for

intemperance, and to total abstinence societies as being engaged in a work beneficial to the State and the Church.

If it be objected that many Catholics are delinquent in this matter to the wishes of the Church; our answer is that, unfortunately, the State does not co-operate with the Church in this important question; that laws against drunkenness and legal restrictions on the sale of intoxicants are allowed to be violated; that what is called the necessities of politics are at war with the spirit of christianity the virtues of the citizen, the good of the social body; that this is a case in which corrupt politics and the loose administration of law shelter the unfaithful or the less worthy children of the Church from her salutary influences and commands. The only effective and permanent remedy against the abuse of intoxicating drink, is to be found in the enactment of judicious laws regulating its sale, rigidly executed by the civil authorities, and reinforced by moral and religious sanctions, directly appealing to the individual conscience.

No constitution is more in harmony with Catholic principles than is the American. And no religion can be in such accord with that constitution as the Catholic. While the State is not absorbed in the Church, nor the Church in the State, and thus there is external separation, they both derive their life from the same interior principle of truth, and in their different spheres carry out the same ideas, and thus there is between them a real internal union. The Declaration of Inde-

pendence acknowledges that the rights it proclaims come from God as the source of all government and all authority. This is a fundamental religious principle in which the Church and State meet.

From it follows the correlative principle that as God alone it the source of human rights, so God alone can efficaciously maintain them. This is equivalent to Washington's warning that the basis of our liberties must be morality and religion. Shall, then, the various Christian churches have influence enough with the millions of our people to keep them in morality and religion? No question can equal this in importance to our country. For success in this noble competition the Catholic Church trusts in the commission given her by her Divine Founder to teach and bless "all nations, all days, even until the end of the world." For guarantee of the spirit in which she shall strive to accomplish it, she points confidently to history's testimony of her unswerving assertion of popular rights, and to her cordial devotedness to the free institutions of America constantly manifested, in word and in work, by her Bishops, her clergy and her people.

IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

IRISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES. *

IT is more than one thousand years ago that good Walafrid Strabo spoke of the migratory tendencies of the Irish people: *"Quibus mos peregrinandi paene in naturam conversa est."* Since then they have certainly not belied the judgment of the old magister, and the annals of the Continent are proof that every nation and every city of Europe, especially since the downfall of the Irish State at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We read with astonishment that nearly a million of Irishmen fought and perished in the service of the French crown, and we instinctively add to that number all those who followed the wavering fortunes of Spain, Austria and Russia during the same epoch, not to speak of the minor powers of Europe. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland seems to have been, like Switzerland in the fifteenth, a *pepinière* of swordsmen and lancers, an inexhaustible source of warlike men.

The discovery of the New World opened up to the Gael, as to all other European peoples, boundless occasions for the satisfaction of the spirit of adventure, and when the domestic struggle for political independence that fills and consecrates

* Republished from the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, February, 1877.

the sixteenth century in Ireland, was over, and the great earls had fled in despair, we see the Irish Gael appearing in the New World, in constantly growing numbers, and exercising upon its fortunes no despicable influence. Tradition has it that Miles Standish was an Irishman and a Catholic. Sir Thomas Dongan of Cork, "a far-sighted and able man," was Governor of New York towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in the course of the eighteenth, many a stout ship bore its hundreds of Irish immigrants into the ports of Philadelphia, New York, New London and Baltimore. Colonial development, war, foreign commerce, domestic discontent, religious oppression were among the causes that filled with Irishmen the vessels that regularly sailed from Dublin, Cork and Londonderry. Their descendants, unhappily, are lost to the faith today by no fault of theirs. It is sad to think of the religious privations of men like Daniel O'Sullivan, the Kerry school-master, who penetrated the wilds of New Hampshire about the middle of the eighteenth century, and became the progenitor of the revolutionary Sullivans and of other families famous today in the New England States. During the eighteenth century, the colonial ports were never without their fair proportion of Irishmen, for the sea has ever been as dear to the men of Erin as to the men of England, and they may praise with equal zeal:

> **This happy breed of men, this little world,**
> **This precious stone, set in the silver sea,**
> **Which serves it in the office of a wall,**
> **Or as a moat defensive to a house.**

It is certain that Northern New York and Pennsylvania received large accessions of Gaelic Catholics in the first half of the eighteenth century, both Scotch and Irish Gael. Scarcely a month passes that the newspapers of the period do not chronicle the arrival of hundreds. In the latter half of the century New London, in Connecticut, was a favorite port of entry for Irish immigrants, and the eastern portion of that State was largely settled by Irish, though of Protestant faith. The revolutionary war brought many Irishmen to the colonies, for several of the British regiments were entirely composed of the Gael. On the American side a good portion of the soldiers were Irishmen, according to the testimony of General Lee, cited by the British General Robertson before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1778. In this country we are familiar with similar evidences of George Washington and of Verplank, not to speak of the famous phrase of Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington, that "in the Revolutionary War Ireland furnished one hundred men to any single man furnished by any foreign nation."

Coming down from the earliest English settlement of this territory, there is in the United States, especially in Virginia and New England, a deep strain of Gaelic blood, one of whose sources is the steady kidnapping, during the seventeenth century, of thousands of Irish girls and boys, brought over to the West Indian Colonies and to Virginia and New England in particular. The curious researches of Mr. John Prendergast in

his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland,* and the "permits" of Cromwell in the "State Papers" of England, are irrefragable proofs of this practice. Nevertheless, neither this infusion of Gaelic blood, nor the great number of eighteenth century Irish redemptioners (temporary bondsmen), nor the other sources of Irish immigration previous to the opening of the nineteenth century, would ever have brought about the marvellous results that have since come to pass through the mighty exodus of almost an entire people from the venerable seat of its history and its power. This exodus is yet too near us, and its results are yet too personal and present, to permit my discussing it from a philosophical point of view. Hence I shall confine myself to some facts, and to such considerations as seem best fitted for the direction of those who intend in the future to cast in their lot with the great Republic of the West, the world's great bulwark of liberty without license, and individual freedom without anarchy or despotism.

We are told by Dr. Edward Young, formerly Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, that "prior to the year 1820 no official records were kept of the influx of foreign population to this country." The same official estimates that between 1776 and 1820 the aggregate immigration was about 250,000. The entire population of the colonies at the opening of the war was about 3,000,000, one-third of whom were probably born on the other side of the Atlantic, while the parents of a large portion of the remainder were among the early immigrants. If we apply to this first

period, when immigration statistics were unknown, the ratio of proportion which has steadily obtained since then between the emmigrants from the British Isles, we shall conclude that from 1776 to 1895 Ireland contributed fully seventy per cent. of the emigration from the political island-world of Great Britain. The total trans-Atlantic immigration to the United States since 1820, from all parts whatsoever, is put down at 17,708,331. Of this vast number the British Isles have contributed, during these seventy-six years, 6,743,783, in the following proportion:

Ireland	3,723,356
England	2,647,230
Scotland	373,197

In the same period Germany contributed 4,940,538; Norway and Sweden, 1,136,875; Austro-Hungary, 716,266; Italy, 680,568, and France, 392,359. It is to be noted that the strength of the Irish immigration antedates that of most other European nations, and relatively to all, was long enormously in advance, when we consider the small bulk of the population whence it has been drawn. Premising that the total population of the United States according to the census of 1890, was 62,622,250, and that of this number 53,332,063 were native born, 9,290,167 foreign born, that 55,157,210 were white and about 7,470,040 were black, it may be of interest to the readers to note the following table, in which the Bureau of Statistics

has tabulated the arrivals from Ireland by decades since 1820:

1820-1830	50,724
1830-1840	207,381
1840-1850	780,719
1850-1860	914,119
1860-1870	435,778
1870-1880	436,871
1880-1890	655,482
1890-1900	403,496
1900-1910	369,755
1910-1915	168,592
	4,422,917

This enormous Irish immigration to America is fully appreciated only when we remember that Canada, Australia, South Africa, the West Indies, and all the English colonies have been drawing heavily for their increase of population on the ever-teeming bosom of Ireland.

We must remember, too, that the nation which furnishes this multitude of immigrants is now one of the smallest on the earth, and that in less than fifty years it has sunk in population from about eight to considerably less than five million souls. Yet, strange phenomenon, while the nation has dwindled, the race has increased beyond all imagination, and it is calculated that today there are in the world no less than 20,000,000 men of direct Irish descent.

Our Treasury statistics show that the Irish

immigration is drawn from that element of the population which furnishes the natural increase of any people. Between June 30, 1892, and June 30, 1893, out of a total of European immigration of 488,832, there came from Ireland 49,233 souls. Of that number 2,781 were under fifteen, 1,929 over forty, and 44,523 between fifteen and forty years of age. Of this number, 21,435 were males, and 23,088 were females.

In the decade 1880-1890, the Irish immigrants under fifteen were 93,308; over forty, 48,085; while those between fifteen and forty numbered 515,089. Thus Ireland contributed in *ten* years to the population of the United States about one-ninth of her own actual brawn and sinew, her grace and her gentleness. And the most ancient social organism of Europe is still pouring westward an endless stream of men and women, to those regions of Hy-Brasil that Brendan, doubtless, gazed upon, and whose sands the holy feet of Ailbe may have trodden!

In twenty-five years the United States has received from Ireland probably one-fourth of her actual population, as the following table shows. The figures are taken from the latest Treasury statistics (1915) and the years begin and end on June 30:—

1881.....	77,342
1882.....	76,432
1883.....	81,486
1884.....	63,344
1885.....	51,795

1886	49,619
1887	68,370
1888	73,513
1889	65,557
1890	53,024
1891	55,706
1892	55,467
1893	49,223
1894	33,904
1895	5,888
1896	40,262
1897	28,421
1898	25,128
1899	31,673
1900	35,730
1901	30,561
1902	29,138
1903	35,310
1904	36,142
1905	52,945
1906	40,959
1907	38,706
1908	36,427
1909	31,185
1910	38,382
1911	40,246
1912	33,922
1913	37,023
1914	33,898
1915	23,503
	1,560,231

The greater part of this immigration has been and is yet drawn from the laboring classes, though it is pleasing to note that Ireland sends us, proportionately, as large a percentage of professional and skilled labor as any other nation. Our immigration laws are becoming more exacting as the nation awakens to certain dangers inevitable from the uncontrolled inpouring of European and Asiatic humanity, and today paupers or persons without any visible means of support, or likely to be a charge to the State, are rigidly excluded. Contract laborers are also excluded in the interest of our own multitude of workingmen, and the trend is towards a still more sweeping legislation. It is not likely, however, that the doors of the United States will ever be shut to those human elements that have brought growth and greatness in the past, and are in harmony with the fundamental principles and the spirit of the principles of the American State; whose responsibilities it is true grow greater with every decade, but whose possibilities open ever more widely to the eye of the patriotic citizen.

Where have these multitudes of Irish gone, and what are they doing? They are everywhere, in manufacturing New England and New York, in mining Pennsylvania, in the agricultural Middle States and the Northwest, on the Pacific slope, in the South Atlantic and Gulf States. There is today scarcely an American hamlet in which the blood of the Milesian is not represented. The Irish are exceedingly numerous in many of our great cities, such as New York, Chicago, Brooklyn,

Philadelphia, Boston and others. In the Southern States, for obvious reasons, their number is not so great at present, but with the increasing prosperity of this favored region we may expect soon to see a larger influx of the children of Erin. In many Western States, in communities that have sprung up within this generation, and in which ancient prejudice is weak, or comparatively unknown, the Irish enjoy a high degree of consideration and are among the prominent pioneers of this wonderful complexus of young and vigorous States. In the older States the social and religious dislike that once operated to the detriment of the Irish is disappearing rapidly, owing to several important reasons, chief among which is the ease with which the Irish immigrant merges into the political and social life around him, bringing with him the now common language, and accustomed from youth to a life of political activity and responsibility, and to the exercise of most, if not all, of the rights of a freeman.

No man born out of the United States may be president or vice-president; but in the Senate and House of Representatives, on the judicial bench, in the army and navy, in the civil service, is an ever-growing number of men of Irish descent who shed lustre on their origin, and are beyond reproach, as men and citizens. In education, law, journalism, literature, the plastic and applied arts, they hold foremost places, and their ardour and generosity lend much zest and color to our national life. More than one critic of our manners notices a certain indescribable something in

the American character borrowed from long and close contact with the Irishman, perhaps one expression of the strain of Irish blood that surely exists here from a very early date.

The presence of the Irishman may be traced all over the United States, if only by the nomenclature of towns and cities. And many of their names date from the last century, while others are of yesterday. But in every State, in the oldest as in the newest, there are communities whose first settlers were numerous and affectionate enough to perpetuate in the New World the sweet name that recalled all they had sacrificed in the Old.

Very naturally, I will be asked what advice ought to be given the intending immigrant from Ireland. I might answer by referring to the natural advisers at home and here, as well as to the admirable literature which has grown up about this question in past years. Fr. Stephen Byrne, the works of Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, John Maguire, M. P., and Bishop Spalding, as well as the reports of the Colonization Society, contain invaluable suggestions, and are far from being antiquated. The files of the older Catholic newspapers, like the *Boston Pilot,* the *New York Freeman's Journal,* the *Philadelphia Standard and Times,* and others, contain much valuable advice and direction, that any student of this question might well ponder over and digest before writing on it *ex professo.* I can only offer a few general suggestions, of a moral and political character, leaving to others the more practical and economic view of this grave problem.

1. The Irish immigrant ought to be a *model of the natural virtues.* He is usually a Catholic, and if the supernatural life of grace is not raised upon a foundation of natural virtue, he is apt to give a false impression of the nature, scope and value of his religion. He must, therefore, adapt himself to the land in which he seeks a refuge, and he must remember that he owes a debt of gratitude to that country which opens wide its doors to him, and places within easy reach what is today the greatest of civil privileges, American citizenship. He leaves a land where as yet he is debarred, directly or indirectly, from many things that his heart desires, but that his race or religion, or both, prevent him from enjoying. He comes into the chief state of the New World, and in five years he walks a king among men, clothed with the panoply of free citizenship, with the right of suffrage, active and passive, eligible to every office but the highest, from which, however, his children are not debarred. The very magnificence of this American political generosity makes many foreigners forget that it is a boon pure and simple, to which they have no right, and which may be curtailed or denied as easily as it has been lavished.

2. The American people admire thrift, perseverance, business honor, faith of contracts. Their's is a mighty commercial state; but it is no nation of shopkeepers, if by that be meant a "gross, vulgarian" soul. They love the virtues that adorn the days of peace, but they are surely not deficient in those that befit the strenuous period of war.

The energy which elsewhere is spent on mighty armaments and on mutual checkmating, is here expended on the forces of nature. From the milldam that treasures the "power" for the New England factory to the wonderful harnessing of Niagara; from the turnpike and canal to the great iron roadways that bind the Atlantic and Pacific across a stretch of three thousands miles; from the modest steamboat of Fulton to the modern liner or dreadnought, there has been in this country such a continuous development of all the business and commercial virtues as the world has never seen. What if there be excesses or dangers? Every healthy body has its crises, its perils, and states are not free from them. But the recuperative powers of this state are beyond calculation, for deep in the hearts of the vast majority of its citizens are planted religious conscience, belief in one God and His revelation, admiration and practice of virtue, natural and scriptural, charity and forbearance, belief in a future life of rewards and punishments.

3. There is here no public legalized blasphemy, no ostentatious violation of the Sunday rest, no cynical disregard of the claims of virtue, nor will the immigrant see here the idea of God and His guiding Providence relegated to the family or the individual. This nation of over one hundred and one millions reads with gladness and piety the annual formal message of our President, wherein God, Providence, Prayer, Christianity are formally allowed and commended to every citizen. The American heart is, therefore, a religious, nay,

a Christian heart; and in that heart lies the panacea for the crescent ills of our political life.

4. It will not be amiss if I say here a few words on *good citizenship*. The Irish immigrant who arrives on our shores beholds before him a most varied political life, in which ward, town, city, county, state, and nation play each a *role* of absorbing interest. He is already half fitted by his language, domestic political training, and certain innate tendencies or qualities, to enter into this life. He usually does, and with no small share of success, for the Irish race has developed the world over, a rare political capacity, as the history of the English colonies alone will show, or a cursory view of the foreign relations of England in this century.

On this blessed soil of freedom the Irish immigrant needs to cultivate every civic virtue, interest in all public problems, conscientious study of public issues, the sense of union for the common weal, unprejudiced devotion to the growth of the State, incorruptible exercise of the sacred right of the ballot, which is the holy fountain of our political life and well-being, and to poison or trifle with which is to cut at the root of our State. The laws guarantee and promise to protect the free exercise of the right of suffrage, and condemn any unwarranted interference with it. They provide for secret balloting, and they have left nothing undone to place the individual voter in a position to register his personal, conscientious opinions.

Nor should anyone imagine that it is a slight thing to cast a vote against one's conscience, or as the

result of a barter or trade. Beside the scandal, there is the wrong done to the popular sovereignty, the *Majestas Americana,* which is endangered by no act so much as by the corrupt use of the ballot, an act which more than any other tends to justify the enemies of our State and our institutions.

5. It would not be proper for me to recommend publicly to immigrants any particular part of the United States. But it will not be out of place if they are recommended not to immigrate without some definite knowledge of where they are going, and what they expect to do. This is a dictate of natural prudence. There was a time when the Irish laborer alone controlled the labor market in the United States; but that day is gone, and this honorable labor is now contended for among us by many other European, and even Asiatic nationalities, driven to our hospitable shores by sorrowful circumstances, not dissimilar to those which motivated the coming of so many children of Erin. For various reasons they are often successful competitors in the lower kinds of labor; and while this forces the Irishman to go up in the social scale, it often deprives the arriving immigrant of that sure and permanent support which he could once count on during the first years of his American life.

6. When he can command it, the immigrant ought to bring with him a sum of money as large as his means or circumstances will permit. This would be wise, even in a new colony. It is much more needed in these times, when the great cities are becoming congested, and sudden economic dis-

turbances frighten the world of commerce and business into inactivity. It takes means also to cross the great stretches of the country, to purchase land, stock it, and live until the land is productive. Some of our staples have lately fluctuated greatly in value—for temporary and artificial reasons, all believe; nevertheless the penniless emigrant, who expects to live by the land, is gravely affected by these conditions, much more so than the native farmer, whose employed children, distant connections, familiarity with the country, may enable him to weather the storm. Ordinarily speaking, capital invested in the United States is most productive. There are many hundreds of millions of English capital here—in our railroads, bridges, mines, mills, breweries, and the like; and there is no reason why those who have capital in Ireland should not invest it here with great profit, especially if they come in person to superintend its employment. I recall more than one instance where Irishmen have prospered greatly on funds they brought with them and invested in some of our American enterprises.

Perhaps someone will ask what I think of Irish immigration in general. Ought the Irish to stay at home, or ought they emigrate very largely, and especialy to the United States? It is a grave problem. Ireland is a very ancient nation, with a very glorious history, and her race of men is pre-eminently adapted to the soil on which they live. Divine Providence seems to have matched the lovely fertile island with a population of brave and industrious men, and pure and beautiful

women. Surely this has not been in order to tear them roughly from the farm and the hamlet, the mill and the forge, the cradle and the spinning wheel, to scatter them like the leaves of the forest or the sands of the sea. The natural development of any race is on the ancestral soil, where nature and tradition are the venerable nurses of manhood and womanhood, where the racial virtues are natural and frequent, and the racial vices most easily extirpated or counterbalanced. Then, too, history is a great magician, and throws still over every feature of the landscape, as well as over the whole "sweetest isle of the ocean," an irresistible charm, in which it is hard to tell what element prevails the most—the deep human love of one's accustomed haunts, of "the cabin-door fast by the wild wood," or the ineffable devotion that feeds and grows upon the awful sorrows which beset it; the sweet sense of kinship with the long lines of clan-ancestry that fade off into the dawn of history, or the ineradicable passionate longing to see secular injustice righted, and the harp of Innis fail once again "strung full high to notes of gladness." Whatever be its component elements, there is no gainsaying the material charm of Ireland, and in the chain which binds her children to her it is, perhaps, not the least resistful of the links.

Yet this same history shows us the Irish race as possessed beyond all others with the spirit of the world-wanderer. The earliest reliable utterances of their history bear witness that they were seafaring, adventurous people; and since their

conversion to Christianity there can be no doubt that this spirit has been heightened and consecrated by religious ardor for the propagation of Christianity. Willingly and unwillingly, wittingly and unwittingly, they have been a people of missionaries longer than any other race. No other people ever gave themselves *en bloc* to Christian missions as they; no other people ever suffered for their Catholic faith as they. And when, with the dawn of this century, the remarkable movements began which have today produced some 130,000,000 of English-speaking people, and been the chief element in the *renaissance* of Catholicism from its Continental tomb, it was the Irish who were the pioneers, they being then almost the only English-speaking Catholics, and devoting themselves the world over to the planting of the Catholic faith, the support of its claims and its missionaries, and the sustenance of the Papal authority. They are no longer the only English-speaking Catholics, though they are yet nearly everywhere in the majority; but we would be base and ingrate to forget that it was they who bore the brunt of the struggle for many decades of this century.

I would not, therefore, discourage Irish immigration, because there are at stake more than economic considerations. There are at stake the interests of the Catholic religion, which in this land and in this age are largely bound up with the interests of the Irish people. God's hand is upon them, going and coming; and I prefer to believe that He who harmonizes the motion of the planets and the flow of the tides, is also First Agent and

Prime Mover in those no less mysterious movements by which peoples pass from one land to another, even as Israel went down out of Egypt into Canaan, or the Wandering Nations came out of the frozen North and overflowed the Roman Empire.

LYNCH LAW

LYNCH LAW.

(The frequency with which alleged criminals are summarily executed by mob violence, in certain parts of the country, is an ample apology for this paper.)

WHOSOEVER sheddeth man's blood, his blood shall be shed." It is a law of nearly all Christian and civilized nations based on the Mosaic ordinance, that all deliberate murderers and other atrocious criminals shall expiate their transgressions by the death penalty. The blood of the innocent victim, like the voice of the blood of Abel, calleth to heaven for vengeance.—Gen. IV.

But private individuals, how exalted soever may be their station and influence in the community, or how grievous soever the offence, cannot constitute themselves the agents for punishing the guilty. A claim of this kind would destroy or imperil security of life, and lead to indiscriminate bloodshed.

The prerogative of exacting life for life, and blood for blood, is vested exclusively in the public authorities who are charged with maintaining the peace and good order of the Commonwealth. The power of the civil functionaries and the source

of their authority are thus stated by the Apostle of the Gentiles: "The civil magistrate beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil" He acts in the capacity of the representative and delegate of God, who has the power of life and death over all His creatures.

But even civil rulers are forbidden to make an arbitrary use of their prerogatives, at least in times of peace. Their powers are strictly defined. They can pronounce sentence of death only after a judicial verdict has been rendered. The Constitution of the United States expressly provides that no person may be condemned to death till declared guilty after a judicial trial.

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution declares that "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." This beneficent clause is most comprehensive in its scope, for it guarantees a fair trial to every culprit, no matter how atrocious his crime, or humble his station in life.

All executions by Lynch Law are, therefore, a direct and flagrant violation of the Constitution. Every lover of his country's fair name must feel a sense of shame and sorrow when he is forced to admit that the murder of criminals by popular violence is of frequent and almost weekly occurrence in the United States. Nor are these acts of vengeance confined to one particular section of the land.

According to a report by a responsible writer whose statements have not been questioned, there

were two thousand eight hundred and seventy-five lynchings from 1885 to 1903, inclusively; and there are but five states in the Union in which these illegal acts did not occur. The States exempted from the crime of lynching are Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island and Utah.

Lynching is a blot on our American civilization. It lowers our civic and moral standard in the estimation of foreign nations; it is a standing insult and menace to the majesty of the law of the land; it usurps the sword of authority from the constituted powers, and places it in the hands of a reckless and irresponsible mob.

In arouses a blood-thirsty spirit in man; it inflames the savage element in our nature. You might as well attempt to chain the lightning, and hush the thunderbolt of heaven as to repress a crowd, once their fury is excited to wreak vengeance on an alleged malefactor.

I admit that there are exceptional times and circumstances when summary executions may be tolerated and condoned; when, for instance, a territory is suddenly occupied by a mixed and heterogeneous population, and is in a formative state; when the civil law and the usual machinery and appliances of a stable government are not yet established. On occasions like this, the recognized leaders of the people may punish notorious criminals in the interests of social order.

Upwards of sixty-five years ago such a state of things existed in California, when gold was first

discovered in that region, and when adventurers flocked thither from various parts of the globe.

A Vigilance Committee was organized to punish outlaws without the usual forms of law. But it is manifest that this method of chastising offenders cannot be tolerated in a State where the courts of justice are in free operation.

Lynching and all arbitrary deeds of vengeance by irresponsible persons without legal proceedings have been the fruitful source of feuds and sanguinary conflicts in some sections of our country. We are all familiar with the bloody struggles carried on for a generation between two families on the borders of Kentucky and West Virginia. The partisans of one clan began by murdering a member of the other to avenge some grievance. The aggrieved family retaliated by killing one or more of the other tribe; and they in return made reprisals by the massacre of some of their adversaries. And so the contest has been kept up almost to the present day, until both clans have been well nigh exterminated.

How much bloodshed and violence would have been spared if the contending parties had recourse to the established tribunals, or had observed the law of forgiveness of injuries inculcated by the Founder of the Christian religion!

What aggravates the crime of Lynch Law is the circumstance that not unfrequently it sentences to death an innocent person, while the guilty party escapes. Cases of mistaken identity and ungrounded suspicion are liable to occur when we consider the excited frame of mind of the un-

happy victim of violence and lust, and the eagerness of an outraged community to avenge an atrocious and brutal crime. I can recall a notable instance of the lynching of innocent men. In May, 1902, the wife of a station-master was found murdered in a small town in South Carolina. Three negroes were suspected of the crime. They were hanged to trees, and their bodies were riddled with bullets. Some time afterward the husband of the murdered woman, overcome by remorse, confessed on his death-bed in the presence of his physician and several witnesses, that he was the murderer, and that the accused negroes were absolutely innocent of the deed.

If it is a grave miscarriage of justice to allow the guilty to go unpunished, it is far more criminal to deprive of life an unoffending man. The legalized murder of a guiltless individual is an act of violence to Justice herself. Better that ten guilty men should escape than that one man should unjustly suffer.

Unfortunately, also, the lynching of one individual is sometimes attended by the accidental and promiscuous slaying or wounding of bystanders in the conflict which arises between the mob and the officers of the law.

If Lynch Law were substituted for the law of the land, no citizen would be secure from violence or death. The leading men of the community, if not restrained by conscience, would wield an influence like that which was swayed by Barbarian chiefs or Oriental despots, who could assassinate with impunity every harmless commoner that

stood in the way of their lawless ambition or lascivious passions. They could easily trump up charges against the object of their hatred or malice, and suborn a hired band of retainers to avenge a fancied crime.

Another deplorable result of lynching is that public sympathy is sometimes withdrawn from the innocent victim of lust and murder, and is transferred for the time being to the brute who outraged and killed her. Her defenceless condition, her agonies and cries for help, her vain entreaties, her dishonor worse than death, culminating often in torture and murder in order to cover the crime—all this horrible picture fades from view, and is almost forgotten, while the iniquity of the human fiend is condoned or palliated on account of the lawless manner in which his crime was expiated. He often becomes the hero of the hour, and is regarded by some even as a martyr. And while the malefactor's crime is almost lost sight of, and he becomes the object of morbid pity, popular denunciation falls on the heads of those who participated in his summary execution.

Had the wretch expiated his offence by the ordinary process of the civil courts, his trial, conviction and execution, attended with all the solemnity of judicial proceedings, would have appeased the righteous indignation of the community, would have vindicated the majesty of the law, and would have served as a terror and salutary warning to evil-doers.

If indeed the illegal and violent infliction of the

death penalty on criminals had a deterrent effect on other evil-disposed persons, and acted as a warning to them, that circumstance, while not justifying Lynch Law, might at least offer some excuse or palliation for its exercise. But experience shows that it rather increases instead of diminishing the calendar of crime. Far from terrorizing the colored race, who are the usual sufferers from hasty executions, it inflames them with indignation, and incites them to perpetrate deeds of violence on the weaker sex as much from a spirit of vengeance, and from a triumph in the humiliation of their victims, as from a desire to gratify their animal passions.

Let us now examine into the principal grounds of excuse for the exercise of Lynch Law, and suggest a remedy for the social evil.

One of the causes of hasty and violent executions without the forms of law, is the needless and often irritating delay in bringing a notorious criminal to the bar of justice, and the infliction of punishment inadequate to the enormity of the offence.

An infamous negro named George White violated and then butchered almost beyond recognition a young lady in Delaware. A prompt trial of the self-accused malefactor was reasonably expected to appease the public, exasperated as they were by the horrible outrage. But they were grievously disappointed by the announcement that the culprit would not be tried for three months, and the result was a summary execution attended with the most revolting circumstances.

It appears that this same White had been twice before convicted for rape in Pennsylvania. If he had received a due measure of penalty for his former transgressions, he would not have been let loose to prey like a wolf on other folds, and if he had been accorded a speedy trial in Delaware, the community would have been spared the awful scenes which occurred when he was burned at the stake.

A certain man, whose name I need not mention, was found guilty of murdering the husband of his paramour with the connivance of the victim's wife, so that the assassin and his accomplice might continue their life of sin with greater freedom.

While the adulterous criminal was confined in prison awaiting the execution of his sentence, he was visited by some ladies, who manifested their sympathy for him by adorning his cell with flowers, and supplying him with delicacies. He won the hearts of these emotional women by uttering oracular sentences worthy of Socrates or Aristides.

Finally they made an appeal to the Governor for his pardon, which was granted on the sole condition that he should leave the State.

On his release from prison he soon discovered that an outraged public did not share in the sentimental compassion of his visitors, and in a few days afterwards, stricken with remorse, he committed suicide, and thus became his own executioner.

The difficulty of procuring a sentence of conviction against the accused after he is tried, and the

frequency with which noted criminals are known to escape the meshes of the law, especially in jury trials, have created in the public mind a distrust of our criminal jurisprudence, and offer an incentive and temptation to have recourse to the wild justice of revenge. In 1900 the *Mafia,* a lawless secret society of Sicilian origin, spread terror among the inhabitants of New Orleans by their frequent deeds of bloodshed. The members of the society considered it dishonorable to seek redress by appealing to the established courts of justice, but always avenged a wrong by secret murder. They assassinated the chief of police at his own door. Nine members of this infamous band were arrested and tried for the murder of the brave and popular guardian of the law. They were all acquitted.

Some of the leading citizens, incensed at the miscarriage of justice, shot down these nine members of the *Mafia,* and how much soever we may reprobate the drastic remedies applied by the citizens, it is gratifying to say that since these violent measures were adopted the hydra-headed monster has never again lifted its head in the Crescent City.

Yet another crying evil and incentive to lynching is the wide interval that so often interposes between a criminal's conviction and the execution of the sentence, and the defeat of justice by needless procrastination. Human life is indeed precious and sacred, but the effort to guard it has gone beyond reasonable bounds. It is blessed to be merciful, but mercy should not be exercised at the

expense of justice and social order. Misplaced clemency often works infinite harm to the community.

Of late years the difficulty of carrying out the judgment of the court (in murder trials especially) has greatly increased from the widened application of pleas in bar—notably that of insanity. When a conviction has been reached, innumerable obstacles generally stay the execution. The grounds of exception allowed to counsel, the appeals from one court to another of higher jurisdiction, involving an enormous expense to the commonwealth, the long periods of time intervening between the terms of the higher and lower courts, the impossibility of recalling the original witnesses by reason of their death or removal to distant parts of the country, the apathy or fading interest of the friends of the prosecution, the untiring efforts of the advocates and partisans of the accused, the facility with which signatures for pardon are obtained, with the final application for mercy to the Governor—or Board of Pardons —all these circumstances have combined to throw around the transgressor an extravagant protective system, and have gone far to rob jury trials of their substance and efficacy.

When the crime of the accused has been manifestly proved, and no extenuating circumstances can be advanced, the lawyers for the defence have often recourse to the plea of insanity as a last resource. Medical experts are always available to testify to the moral irresponsibility of the culprit, bewildering the jury by their technical

phrases. This subterfuge not infrequently succeeds in defeating the ends of justice, though the sanity of the guilty party had never before been called in question.

I can recall a recent instance in which a man was convicted of a heinous crime. The insanity dodge was successfully availed of. He was committed to an asylum from which he soon afterward escaped with the aid of his relatives, and no effort has since been made to rearrest him at his home.

A sovereign remedy for the suppression of lynching and for the restoration of the law's supremacy is found in a speedy trial and conviction of the accused, if he is found guilty, followed by the rigorous execution of the sentence.

It would be a great blessing for society if our law-makers were to revise the criminal code now in force, and to sweep away, or at least considerably diminish the barriers which interpose between the crime and its punishment. A prompt execution of the verdict would strike terror into evildoers, and satisfy the public conscience.

But it is far more merciful to stop crime than to punish it by legislation. It is better to remove a cause than to repair its evil effects. From data before me, I infer that about seventy per cent. of those who perished by lynching in the Southern States between 1885 and 1903 belonged to the colored population. If the deep-rooted antipathy between the white and the black races were removed or assuaged, these violent executions would be considerably diminished.

This blessed result can be accomplished only by submission to the teachings of the Gospel which proclaims the equality of all men before God, with whom "there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all. Col. III-11.

If the American people were religiously impressed with the Gospel truth, that we are all, without distinction of color, children of the same God, brothers of the same Christ, that we were all redeemed by His precious blood, that we are all descended from the same aboriginal parents, that we were created for the same eternal destiny, that Christ is our "Peace-maker, breaking down the wall of partition," which divides nation from nation, tribe from tribe, so that we might be all one family guided by the supreme law of charity—if we were all controlled by these principles, then indeed the reign of vengeance would exercise less sway among us.

In the two lower counties of Maryland, the white and the black population are nearly equally divided, and the great majority of both races profess the Catholic religion. I have had frequent occasions to visit these counties in the exercise of the sacred ministry.

Before divine service began, I have been delighted to observe the whites and the blacks assembled together on the church grounds, and engaged in friendly and familiar intercourse. Then they repaired to the church, worshipping under the same roof, kneeling before the same

altar, receiving the Sacrament at the same railing, and listening to the words of the same Gospel.

This equal participation in spiritual gifts and privileges has fostered the feeling of good-will and benevolence which no human legislation could accomplish. I never witnessed anywhere else the white race so kind and considerate to the colored, nor the colored race so respectful and deferential to the white; for there was no attempt in these weekly gatherings to level the existing social distinctions. As far as my memory serves me, the records of these two counties have never been stained by a single instance of an outrage and a lynching.

PATRIOTISM AND POLITICS

PATRIOTISM AND POLITICS.*

I HAVE no excuse to make for offering some reflections on the political outlook of the nation; for my rights as a citizen were not abdicated or abridged on becoming a Christian prelate, and the sacred character which I profess, far from lessening, rather increased, my obligations to my country.

In answer to those who affirm that a churchman is not qualified to discuss politics, by reason of his sacred calling, which removes him from the political arena, I would say that this statement is true in the sense that a clergyman as such should not be a heated partisan of any political party; but it is not true in the sense that he is unfitted by his sacred profession for discussing political principles.

His very seclusion from popular agitation gives him a vantage-ground over those that are in the whirlpool of party strife, just as they who have never witnessed Shakespeare's plays performed on the stage, are better qualified to judge of the genius of the author and the literary merit of

* Republished from the *North American Review*, April, 1892.

his productions than they who witness the plays amid the environment and attractions of stage scenery.

It is needless to say that I write not merely as a churchman, but as a citizen; not in a partisan, but in a patriotic, spirit; not in advocacy of any particular party, but in vindication of pure government. There is a moral side to most political questions; and my purpose here is to consider the ethical aspect of politics, and the principles of justice by which they should be regulated. In view of the Presidential election coming on, the remarks I am about to offer are, it seems to me, specially opportune.

Every man in the Commonwealth leads a dual life—a private life under the shadow of the home, and a public life under the ægis of the State. As a father, a husband, or a son, he owes certain duties to the family; as a citizen, he owes certain obligations to his country. These civic virtues are all comprised under the generic name, patriotism.

Patriotism means love of country. Its root is the Latin word *Patria,* a word not domesticated in English. The French have it in patrie; the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races have it literally translated in Fatherland. "Fatherland," says Cicero, "is the common parent of us all: *Patria est communis omnium nostrum parens.*" * It is the paternal home extended, the family reaching out to the city, the province, the country. Hence, with us Fatherland and Country have come to be

* De Fin III, 19.

synonymous. Country in this sense comprises two elements, the soil itself and the men who live thereon. We love the soil in which our fathers sleep, *terra patrum, terra patria,* the land in which we were born. We love the men who as fellow-dwellers share that land with us. When Dom Pedro, emperor of Brazil, died in Paris, he was laid to his last sleep on Brazilian soil, which he had carried away with him for that very purpose. Let a citizen from Maine meet a citizen from California on the shores of the Bosphorus or on the banks of the Tiber, they will, at once, forget that at home they dwelt three thousand miles apart. State lines are obliterated, party differences are laid aside, religious animosities, if such had existed, are extinguished. They warmly clasp hands, they remember only that they are fellow American citizens, children of the same mother, fellow-dwellers in the same land over which floats the Star-Spangled Banner.

Patriotism implies not only love of soil and of fellow citizens, but also, and principally, attachment to the laws, institutions, and government of one's country; filial admiration of the heroes, statesmen, and men of genius, who have contributed to its renown by the valor of their arms, the wisdom of their counsel, or their literary fame. It includes, also, an ardent zeal for the maintenance of those sacred principles that secure to the citizen freedom of conscience, and an earnest determination to consecrate his life, if necessary, *pro aris et focis,* in defense of altar and fireside,

of God and Fatherland. Patriotism is a universal sentiment of the race:

> "Breathes there the man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said,
> 'This is my own, my native land!'"

A certain philosophical school has taught that love of country has its origin in physical comfort. *Ibi patria ubi bene.* But is it not true that one's country becomes dear in proportion to the sufferings endured for it? Have not the sacrifices of our wars developed the patriotism of the American? In fact, it is the most suffering and persecuted races that are endowed with the deepest patriotism. We may even go so far as to say that the rougher the soil, the harsher the climate, the greater the material privations of a land, the more intense is the love of its inhabitants for it. Witness the Irish peasant. And are not the Swiss in their narrow valleys and on their steep mountain sides, the Scotch on their rugged Highlands, the classic models of patriotism? Nay, the Esquimaux, amid the perpetual snows that hide from his eyes every green spot of earth, loves his home, nor dreams of a fairer.

Patriotism is not a sentiment born of material and physical well-being; it is a sentiment that the poverty of country and the discomforts of climate do not diminish, that the inflictions of conquest and despotism do not augment. The truth is, it is a rational instinct placed by the Creator in the breast of man. When God made man a social being, He gave him a sentiment that urges him to

sacrifice himself for his family and his country, which is, as it were, his larger family. "Dear are ancestors, dear are children, dear are relatives and friends; all these loves are contained in love of country." *

The Roman was singularly devoted to his country. *Civis Romanus sum* was his proudest boast. He justly gloried in being a citizen of a republic conspicuous for its centuries of endurance, for the valor of its soldiers, for the wisdom of its statesmen, and the genius of its writers. One of its greatest poets has sung: "It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country." † So execrable was the crime of treason regarded that the traitor not only suffered extreme penalties in this life, but he is consigned after death by Virgil to the most gloomy regions of Tartarus. ‡

Love of country shows itself in the citizen by the observance of law and the good use of political rights, and in those that, for the time being, govern, by justice and disinterestedness in their administration. Ministers of religion manifest their patriotism, not only as citizens, but also as spiritual teachers and leaders of the people, by inculcating the religious, moral, and civic virtues, and by prayer to the throne of God for the welfare of the land. "I desire, therefore," wrote St. Paul

* Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. (Cicero, De Off., 1, 17).

† Dulce et decorum pro patria mori. (Horace B. III. ODE II).

‡ Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem imposuit. Fixit leges pretio atque refixit. (Æneid, B. VI.)

to his disciple Timothy, "first of all that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thansgivings be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety and chastity; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour." *

The Catholic Church in our country is not unmindful of this duty. A prayer composed by Archbishop Carroll to beg Heaven's blessing on the land and its rulers, a masterpiece of liturgical literature, is recited every Sunday at the solemn service in some parts of the United States, and notably in the Cathedral at Baltimore, in which the custom has rarely ceased since it was introduced by Baltimore's first Archbishop over one hundred years ago.

To the soldier, patriotism has inspired the most heroic deeds of courage and self-sacrifice. The victories of Debora, Judith, and Gedeon, achieved for God and country, are recorded with praise in Sacred Scripture.

The stand of Leonidas in the pass of Thermopylae with his three hundred Spartans against the million Persians of Xerxes; the boldness of his answer to the oriental monarch's summons to lay down arms, "Let him come and take them;" the recklessness of his reply to the threat, that so numerous were his foes that the very heavens would be darkened by their arrows, " 'T is well. We shall fight in the shade;" the fierce battle; the fall of almost all the Grecian heroes; the total defeat of the Persian host—are commonplaces of history, and themes of the schoolroom. That day

ranks among the great days of the world. Had Xerxes triumphed, Europe had become Asiatic, and the trend of history had been changed.

The three calls of Cincinnatus to the Dictatorship from the solitude and cultivation of his Sabine farm, his three triumphs over the enemies of the Republic, kindled not in his breast the fire of political ambition. When the foe was repelled and his country needed him no longer he laid down the sword of command for the plow, left "the pomp and circumstance" of the camp for the quiet of his rural homestead, like him whose grave hallows the hillside of Mount Vernon—two notable instances of patriotism, making men great in peace no less than in war. Need I recall Regulus, Horatius Cocles, Brutus, the first consul, whose heroic and patriotic deeds have been the exultant theme of the classic authors of Rome?

Patriotism finds outward and, so to say, material expression, in respect for the flag that symbolizes the country, and for the chief magistrate who represents it. Perhaps, it is only when an American travels abroad that he fully realizes how deep-rooted is his love for his native country. The sentiment of patriotism, which may be dormant at home, is aroused and quickened in foreign lands.

The sight of an American flag flying from the mast of a ship in mid-ocean or in some foreign port, awakes unwonted emotion and enthusiasm.

The interest which an American feels in a presidential election, or in any other important domestic

event, is intensified when he is abroad. When I was travelling through the Tyrol, in 1880, I had a natural desire to find out who had been nominated for the Presidency; but in that country news travels slowly. On reaching Innspruck, I learned that Mr. Garfield was the nominee. I got my information from an American student buried in the cloisters of a seminary, to whom the outside world was apparently dead. I never discovered and I dare say his professors never knew how he obtained his information. But the news was correct.

Americans are in the habit of visiting Rome every year in large numbers. The greater part of them on their arrival instinctively repair to the American College. Perhaps, the name of the college attracts them; perhaps, also, the consciousness that they will hear their mother-tongue. And when they enter its portals, where they are always sure to find a warm welcome from the genial rector, their eyes are gladdened by the familiar features of the "Father of his Country."

Love of country, as I have described it, which is fundamentally an ethical sentiment, and which was such in all nations, even before Christian Revelation was given to the world, and which is such today among nations that have not heard the Christian message, is elevated, ennobled, and perfected by the religion of Christ. Patriotism in non-Christian times and races has inspired heroism even unto death. We do not pretend that Christian patriotism can do more. But we do say that Christianity has given to patriotism and

to the sacrifices it demands, nobler motives and higher ideals.

If the virtue of patriotism was held in such esteem by pagan Greece and Rome, guided only by the light of reason, how much more should it be cherished by Christians, instructed as they are by the voice of Revelation! The Founder of the Christian religion has ennobled and sanctified loyalty to country by the influence of His example and the force of His teaching.

When St. Peter was asked by the tax-collector whether his Master should pay the tribute money or not, he replied in the affirmative, and the penniless Master wrought a miracle to secure the payment of the money, though He was exempt from the obligation by reason of His poverty and His divine origin; for if the sons of kings are free from taxation, as Christ Himself remarked on that occasion, the Son of the King of kings had certainly a higher claim to exemption.

The Herodians questioned Jesus whether or not it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar. By this question they sought to ensnare Him in His words. If He admitted the obligation, He would have aroused the indignation of the Jews, who deemed it unlawful to pay tribute to a Gentile and idolatrous ruler. If, on the other hand, He denied the obligation, He would have incurred the vengeance of Rome. He made this memorable reply, which silenced His adversaries: "Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's."

The Apostles echo the voice of their Master: "Let every soul be subject to higher powers; for there is no power but from God. Therefore, he who resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they who resist, purchase for themselves damnation. Render, therefore, to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."* "Be ye subject to every authority for God's sake, whether to the king as excelling, or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of those who do well."† This short sentence, "There is no authority but from God," has contributed more effectually to the stability of nations and to the peace and order of society than standing armies and all the volumes ever written on the principles of government. It ennobles obedience to constituted authority by representing it, not as an act of servility to man, but of homage to God. It sheds a halo around rulers and magistrates by holding them up to us as the representatives of God. It invests all legitimate laws with a divine sanction by an appeal to our conscience.

If the Apostles and the primitive Christians had so much reverence for the civil magistrates in whose election they certainly had no voice; and if they were so conscientious in observing the laws of the Roman Empire, which often inflicted on them odious pains and disabilities, how much more respect should the American citizen enter-

* Romans, xiii.

† I. Peter, ii.

tain for the civil rulers in whose election he actively participates! With what alacrity should he fulfil the laws which are framed solely for his peace and protection and for the welfare of the Commonwealth!

The deification of the State in pagan times rested on a principle contrary to reason, and exacted sacrifices destructive of the moral worth of the citizen. The State absorbed the individual. It was held to be the proprietor and master of the citizen, who was only an instrument in its hand, to be used, cast aside, or broken at will. Christianity knows how to conciliate patriotism with the exigencies of man's personal dignity. Social perfection, or civilization, is in that form of government that secures to its members the greater facility for pursuing and attaining their end in life. That is the Christian notion of the State, and the American also, as laid down in the Declaration of Independence. It is stated therein that government is for the citizen, to secure to him his inalienable rights—that is to say, rights that are his and are inalienable by virtue of the supreme end marked out for him by the Creator.

Again, unlike pagan civilization, which despised the foreigner as a barbarian and a foe, Christian and American civilization sees its ideal in that universal charity revealed to the world by Christ, who came to teach the brotherhood of all men in the Fatherhood of the One God. Patriotism and cosmopolitanism are not incompatible in the Christian. They find a model in the religious order, in the Catholicity and unity of the Church. And

even in the political order, the United States offers a miniature picture of the brotherly federation of nations—forty-four sovereign States, sovereign and independent as to their internal existence, yet presenting to the rest of the world a national unity in the Federal government.

And, indeed, when we reflect on the happiness and manifold temporal blessings which our political institutions have already conferred, and are destined in the future to confer, on millions of people, we are not surprised that the American citizen is proud of his country, her history, and the record of her statesmen.

Therefore, next to God, our country should hold the strongest place in our affections. Impressed, as we ought to be, with a profound sense of the blessings, which our system of government continues to bestow on us, we shall have a corresponding dread lest these blessings should be withdrawn from us. It is a sacred duty for every American to do all in his power to perpetuate our civil institutions and to avert the dangers that threaten them.

The system of government which obtains in the United States is tersely described in the well-known sentence: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people;" which may be paraphrased thus: Ours is a government in which the people are ruled by the representatives of their own choice, and for the benefit of the people themselves.

Our rulers are called the servants of the people, since they are appointed to fulfil the people's

wishes; and the people are called the sovereign people, because it is by their sovereign voice that their rulers are elected.

The method by which the supreme will of the people is registered is the ballot-box. This is the oracle that proclaims their choice. This is the balance in which the merits of the candidates are weighed. The heavier scale determines at once the decision of the majority and the selection of the candidate.

And what spectacle is more sublime than the sight of ten millions of citizens determining, not by the bullet, but by the ballot, the ruler that is to preside over the nation's destinies for four years!

> "A weapon that comes down as still
> As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
> But executes a freeman's will,
> As lightning does the will of God;
> And from its force nor doors nor locks
> Can shield you, 'tis the ballot-box."

But the greatest blessings are liable to be perverted. Our Republic, while retaining its form and name, may degenerate into most odious tyranny; and the irresponsible despotism of the multitude is more galling, because more difficult to be shaken off, than that of the autocrat.

History is philosophy teaching by example. A brief review of the Roman Republic will teach us how it prospered so long as the citizens practised simplicity of life and the civil magistrates administered even-handed justice. Avarice and ambition proved its ruin.*

* Primo pecuniae, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Sallust. Catalin c. x.

The avarice of the poor was gratified by the bribery of the rich; and the ambition of the rich was fed by the votes of the poor.

In the latter days of the Republic, bribery and corruption were shamefully practised. Marius was elected to the consulship by the purchase of votes and by collusion with tthe most notorious demagogues. Pompey and Crassus secured the consulship by intimidation though neither of them was legally qualified for that office. The philosophy of Epicurus, introduced during the last years of the Republic, hastened the moral and mental corruption of Rome. The loss of the political autonomy of Greece, which preceded that of Rome, may be traced to the same cause. To the early Romans the oath was sacred, and perjury a detestable crime. We find in a letter of Cicero to Atticus a curious incident that shows how far the politicians of his day had departed from former standards.

"Memmius," he writes, "has just made known to the Senate an agreement between himself and an associate candidate for the consulship on the one hand, and the two consuls of the current year on the other." It appears that the two consuls agreed to favor the candidacy of the aspirants on the following terms: The two aspirants bound themselves to forfeit to the consuls four hundred thousand sesterces if they failed to produce in favor of the consuls three augurs who were to swear that in their sight and hearing the Plebs (though such was not the fact) had voted the law Curiate (*Lex Curiata*), a law that invested the

consuls with full military powers; and also if they failed to produce two ex-consuls who were to swear that in their presence the Senate had passed and signed a certain decree regulating the provinces of each consul though such was not the fact.* What crowding of dishonesty in this one transaction! Can the worst kind of American politics furnish the match of this slate gotten up regardless of truth and oath?

Cato failed to be elected consul, although eminently worthy of that dignity, because he disdained to purchase the office by bribes. Cæsar had so far debauched the populace with flattery and bribes and the soldiers with pensions, that his election to the office of chief Pontiff and consul was easily obtained.

During the Empire, elections were usually a mere formality. Bribery was open and unblushing. Toward the end of the second century the Empire was publicly sold at auction to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a rich senator, obtained the prize by the payment of $620 to each soldier of the Prætorian guard. But he was executed after a precarious and inglorious reign of sixty-six days.

The history of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire should be a salutary warning to us. Our Christian civilization gives us no immunity from political corruption and disaster. The oft-repeated cry of election frauds should not be treated with indifference, though, in many instances, no doubt, it is the empty charge of

* Book IV., Letter XVIII.

defeated partisans against successful rivals, or the heated language of a party press.

But after all reasonable allowances are made, enough remains of a substantial character to be ominous. In every possible way, by tickers insidiously printed, by "colonizing," "repeating," and "personation," frauds are attempted, and too often successfully, on the ballot. I am informed by a trustworthy gentleman that voters will withhold their suffrage from their political opponents only on condition of exacting compensation from their own party candidates. The evil would be great enough if it were restricted to examples of this kind, but it becomes much more serious when large bodies of men are debauched by the bribes or intimidated by the threats of wealthy corporations.

But when the very fountains of legislation are polluted by lobbying and other corrupt means; when the hand of bribery is extended, and not always in vain, to our municipal, state, and national legislators; when our law-makers become the pliant tools of some selfish and greedy capitalists, instead of subserving the interests of the people—then, indeed, all patriotic citizens have reason to be alarmed about the future of our country.

The man who would poison the wells and springs of the land is justly regarded as a human monster, as an enemy of society, and no punishment could be too severe for him. Is he not as great a criminal who would poison and pollute the ballot-box,

the unfailing fount and well-spring of our civil freedom and of our national life?

The Ark of the Covenant was held in the highest veneration by the children of Israel. It was the oracle from which God communicated His will to the people. Two cherubim with outstretched wings were placed over it as sacred guardians. Oza was suddenly struck dead for profanely touching it. May we not, without irreverence, compare the ballot-box to the ancient Ark? Is it not for us the oracle of God, because it is the oracle of the people? God commands us to obey our rulers. It is through the ballot-box that our rulers are proclaimed to us; therefore, its voice should be accepted as the voice of God. Let justice and truth like twin cherubs, guard this sacred instrument. Let him who lays profane hands upon it be made to feel that he is guilty of a grievous offence against the stability of government, the peace of society, and majesty of God.

Our Saviour, filled with righteous indignation, seizes a scourge and casts out of the Temple those that bought and sold in it, and overturns the tables of the money-changers, saying: "My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves." The polling booth is a temple, in which the angel of justice holds the scales with an even hand. The political money-changer pollutes the temple by his iniquitous bargains. The money-changer in Jerusalem's Temple trafficked in doves; the electioneering money-changer traffics in human beings.

Let the minister of justice arise, and, clothed

with the panoply of authority, let him drive those impious men from the temple. Let the buyers and sellers of votes be declared infamous; for, they are trading in our American birthright. Let them be cast forth from the pale of American citizenship and be treated as outlaws.

I do not think the punishment too severe when we consider the enormity and far-reaching consequences of their crime. I hold that the man who undermines our elective system is only less criminal than the traitor who fights against his country with a foreign invader. The one compasses his end by fraud, the other by force.

The privilege of voting is not an inherent or inalienable right. It is a solemn and sacred trust, to be used in strict accordance with the intentions of the authority from which it emanates.

When a citizen exercises his honest judgment in casting his vote for the most acceptable candidate, he is making a legitimate use of the prerogatives confided to him. But when he sells or barters his vote, when he disposes of it to the highest bidder, like a merchantable commodity, he is clearly violating his trust and degrading his citizenship.

The enormity of the offence will be readily perceived by pushing it to its logical consequences:

First, once the purchase of votes is tolerated or condoned or connived at, the obvious result is that the right of suffrage becomes a solemn farce. The sovereignty is no longer vested in the people, but in corrupt politicians or in wealthy corporations; money instead of merit becomes the test of success; the election is determined, not by the per-

sonal fitness and integrity of the candidate, but by the length of his own or his patron's purse; and the aspirant for the office owes his victory, not to the votes of his constituents, but to the grace of some political boss.

Second, The better class of citizens will lose heart and absent themselves from the polls, knowing that it is useless to engage in a contest which is already decided by irresponsible managers.

Third, Disappointment, vexation, and righteous indignation will burn in the breasts of upright citizens. These sentiments will be followed by apathy and despair of carrying out successfully a popular form of government. The enemies of the Republic will then take advantage of the existing scandals to decry our system and laud absolute monarchies. The last stage in the drama is political stagnation or revolution.

But, happily, the American people are not prone to despondency or to political stagnation, or to revolution outside of the lines of legitimate reform. They are cheerful and hopeful, because they are conscious of their strength; and well they may be, when they reflect on the century of ordeals through which they have triumphantly passed. They are vigilant, because they are liberty-loving, and they know that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." They are an enlightened and practical people; therefore are they quick to detect and prompt to resist the first inroads of corruption. They know well how to apply the antidote to the political distemper of the hour. They have the elasticity of mind and heart to rise to the

occasion. They will never suffer the stately temple of the Constitution to be overthrown, but will hasten to strengthen the foundation where it is undermined, to repair every breach, and to readjust every stone of the glorious edifice.

In conclusion, I shall presume to suggest, with all deference, a brief outline of what appears to me the most efficient means to preserve purity of elections and to perpetuate our political independence.

Many partial remedies may be named. The main purpose of these remedies is to foster and preserve what may be called a Public Conscience. In the individual man, conscience is that inner light which directs him in the knowledge and choice of good and evil, that practical judgment which pronounces over every one of his acts, that it is right or wrong, moral or immoral. Now, this light and judgment which direct man in the ordinary personal affairs of life, must be his guide also in the affairs of his political life; for he is answerable to God for his political, as well as his private life.

The individual conscience is an enlightenment and a guide; and it is itself illumined and directed by the great maxims of natural law and the conclusions which the mind is constantly deducing from those maxims. Now, is there not a set of maxims and opinions that fulfil the office of guides to the masses in their political life?

The means which I propose are:

First, The enactment of strict and wholesome laws for preventing bribery and the corruption

of the ballot-box, accompanied by condign punishment against the violators of the law. Let such protection and privacy be thrown around the polling booth that the humblest citizen may be able to record his vote without fear of pressure or of interference from those that might influence him. Such a remedy has already been attempted, with more or less success, in some States by the introduction of a new system of voting.

Second, A pure, enlightened, and independent judiciary to interpret and enforce the laws.

Third, A vigilant and fearless press that will reflect and create a healthy public opinion; such a press guided by the laws of justice and the spirit of American institutions, is the organ and the reflection of national thought, the outer bulwark of the rights and liberties of the citizen against the usurpations of authority and the injustice of parties, the speediest and most direct castigator of vice and dishonesty. It is a duty of the citizens of a free country not only to encourage the press, but to co-operate with it; and it is a misfortune for any land when its leading men neglect to instruct their country and to act on public opinion through this powerful instrument for good.

Fourth, The incorporation into our school system of familiar lessons embodying a history of our country, a brief sketch of her heroes, statesmen, and patriots, whose civic virtues the rising generations will thus be taught to admire and emulate. The duties and rights of citizens along with reverence for our political institutions should like-

wise be inculcated, as Dr. Andrews, President of Brown University, recommends in a recent article. There is danger that the country whose history is not known and cherished will become to the masses only an abstraction, or, at best, that it will be in touch with them only on its less lovable side, the taxes and burdens it imposes. Men lost in an unnatural isolation, strangers to the past life of their nation, living on a soil to which they hold only by the passing interests of the present, as atoms without cohesion, are not able to realize and bring home to themselves the claims of a country that not only is, but that was before them, and that will be, as history alone can teach, long after them.

Fifth, A more hearty celebration of our national holidays.

The Hebrew people, as we learn from Sacred Scripture, were commanded to commemorate by an annual observance their liberation from the bondage of Pharoh and their entrance into the Promised Land. In nearly all civilized countries there are certain days set apart to recall some great events in their national history, and to pay honor to the memory of the heroes who figured in them. The United States has already established three national holidays. The first is consecrated to the birth of the "Father of his Country;" the second, to the birth of the nation; and the third is observed as a day of thanksgiving to God for His manifold blessings to the nation. On those days, when the usual occupations of life are suspended, every citizen has leisure to study and

admire the political institutions of his country, and to thank God for the benedictions that He has poured out on us as a people. In contemplating these blessings, we may well repeat with the Royal Prophet: "He hath not done in like manner to every nation, and His judgments He hath not made manifest to them."

If holidays are useful to those that are to the manner born, they are still more imperatively demanded for the foreign population constantly flowing into our country, and which consists of persons who are strangers to our civil institutions. The annually recurring holidays will create and develop in their minds a knowledge of our history and admiration for our system of government. It will help, also, to mould our people into unity of political faith. By the young, especially, are holidays welcomed with keen delight; and as there is a natural, though unconscious, association in the mind between the civic festivity and the cause that gave it birth, their attachment to the day will extend to the patriotic event or to the men whose anniversary is celebrated.

Sixth, The maintenance of party lines is an indispensable means for preserving political purity. One party watches the other, takes note of its shortcomings, its blunders and defects; and it has at its disposal the means for rebuking any abuse of power on the part of the dominant side, by appealing to the country at the tribunal of the ballot-box. The healthiest periods of the Roman Republic were periods of fierce political strife. The citizens of Athens were not allowed

to remain neutral. They were compelled to take sides on all questions of great public interest. Not only was every citizen obliged to vote, but the successful candidate was bound to accept the office to which he was called, and to subordinate his taste for private life to the public interests.

England owes much of her greatness and liberty to the active and aggressive vigilance of opposing political camps. Political parties are the outcome of political freedom. Parties are not to be confounded with factions. The former contend for a principle, the latter struggle for a master.

To jurists and statesmen these considerations may seem trite, elementary, and commonplace. But, like all elementary principles, they are of vital import. They should be kept prominently in view before the people, and not obscured in a maze of wordy technicalities. They are landmarks to guide men in the path of public duty, and they would vastly contribute to the good order and stability of the Commonwealth if they were indelibly stamped on the heart and memory of every American citizen.

INDEX

ABDO, Rt. Rev. Basil (Greek Melchite) Bishop of Mariamne, Asia, 37.

Æschines, 20.

Affre, Archbishop of Paris at one time, 23.

Agios O Theos, 122.

Alexandrian Party, 18.

Alexandria, School of, 91.

Alcazar, Rt. Rev. Hilary, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Tonking, 38.

Amat, the Most Eminent Aloysius, Cardinal, Bishop of Palestrina, 136.

Amadeus of Savoy, 170.

America, Christian character of, 277.

American Armies, many Catholics soldiers in, 267.

Largely composed of Irishmen, 267.

American College, reception of Holy Father by, 57-304.

American Catholics, Union and Strength of, 221.

American people, hearts of, drawn toward Church, 202.

Not prone to despondency, 315.

American spirit, 217-221.

American loyalists, Sabine's, 243.

American flag, 303.

Ancina, John Juvenal, Bishop of Saluzzo in Northern Italy, 57.

A short biography of, 57-58.

Declared Venerable, 60.

Anarchist, riots of Chicago, 188.

Annuario Pontifico for 1870, 150.

Anglican Church, separation of, from Rome, 226.

Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, 15.

Arabia, church of, 174.

Archbishops, committee of, 191.

Armenian Bishops, 43.

Arnold, 171.

Ark of the Covenant, 313.

Asia Minor and Cappadocia, Bishops of, 18.

Athens, citizens of, 319.

Austria and Tyrol, Bishops from, 46.

Augustine, Saint, 174.

BAIRD, Father, 240.

Ballot box, 309.

Baltimore, Lord, 236.

Barili, Cardinal, 183.

Barnabo, His Eminence Cardinal, Prefect of the propaganda, 39.

Barry, Jack, bribe offered him by English, 244.

Bar-Schinu, Rt. Rev. Augustine George (Chaldean) Bishop of Salmas, Asia, 38.
Behnam-Benni, Rt. Rev. Cyril, Bishop of Moussoul (Syrian) Mesopotamia, 37.
Belgium, Bishops from, 46.
Bells of Rome, 123.
Ballarmine, Cardinal, 229.
Bienville, 237.
Bilio, Aloysius, Cardinal, 133.
A short biography of, 158, etc.
Birth rate in United States, 250.
Birth rate in New England States, 250.
Bismark, Prince, 24.
Bohemia and Moravia, Bishops from, 46.
Bostani, Most Rev. Peter, Archbishop of Tyre and Sidon, (Maronite) Asia, 37.
Boston Pilot, 275.
Brazilian Bishops, 44.
Bresca, and the erection of the Egyptian obelisk, 108-109.
British failure to raise Catholic regiment in Philadelphia, 244.
Bruya's Mohawk works, 242.
Burke, Father, 57.
Byrne, Father Stephen, works of, 275.

CONSTITUTION of the United States, Palladium of our liberties, 215.
Catholic Church, welding together of different peoples into one nation, 221.
Not foreign or un-American, 222.
Not opposed to liberty, 226.
Catholic Church, the great agent in Americanizing the foreign born, 227.
Cabinet, members of, frequently Catholics, 218.
Cadillac, Antoine de la Motte, 237.
Cæsarism, forces that tend to, 230-232.
Calvert, Cecilius, 237.
Calvert, Sir George, 236.
Calvin, 225.
Cancer, Luis, 239.
Capel, Monsignor, 57.
Canadian neutrality in War of Independence, 247.
Carroll, Archbishop, letter to clergy on death of Washington, 246.
Prayer composed by, 302.
Charles of Carrollton, signer of Declaration of Independence, 245.
Daniel, 245.
Rev. John, first Bishop of Baltimore, 247-248.
Catholics, American, unstained record of loyalty, 211.
Conscious of no barrier separating them from other citizens, 212.
Catholic Bishops of Christendom, number of, in 1870, 3.
Number in attendance at Vatican Council, 3.
Catholic Church encourager of Science, 91-92.
Faith of, always one, 39.
Friend of the people, 201.
Immense force for public welfare, 221.
Peace of, 16.
Protected by Christ, 94.

Catholicism, dread of, 221.
Catholics refused civil rights in seven different states, 217.
Frequently elected by Protestant constituencies, 218.
Sixteen millions American citizens, 210.
Love of country and Church among, 210.
American, at home among their countrymen, 211.
Persecutions endured by, 211.
Early settlers massacred, 238-239-240.
Every one a Whig, 243.
Laws discriminating against, 248.
Generosity of, in the United States, 251.
Missions, history of, in the Northern States, 240.
Population in America in 1776, 249.
Institutions of learning, 251.
University of America, 251.
Religion, interest of, 282.
Catholic Colony of Maryland, first home of civil and religious liberty, 237.
Catholic loyalty, charges against, resented by Catholics, 214.
Religion and patriotism, no conflict between, 213.
Workingmen of America, 196.
Cato, 311.
Celsus, 93.
Celestius, 174.
Centenary celebration, 1867, 106.
Chair of Peter, abode of truth, 175.
Chaldean Bishops, 43.
Champlain, 237.
Charlemagne, statue of, 103.
Charities, Catholic, 256.
Charbonneaux, Rt. Rev. Stephen Louis, Bishop of Mysore, India, 38.
Chief Justices of the United States, twice Catholic, 218.
China and Corea, Prelates of, 11.
Church of Christ, unity, Catholicity, sanctity of, manifested in Rome, 45.
Pillar and ground of truth, 90.
Church and State, separation of, 211.
Change in their relations contemplated with dread by American citizens, 211.
No danger of collision between, in America, 230.
Union of, 232.
Ideally best, not always practically best, 233.
Church in America, enjoys greater liberty than in many other countries where both are united, 211.
Not untrue to her mission of teaching nations, 240.
Church, property of, in United States, 250.
National Protestant, 225.
Schismatical, 225.
Cicero, letter to Atticus, 310.
Cincinnatius, 303.
Civil authority, Catholics owe unreserved allegiance to, 228.
Ciurcia, Most Rev. Aloysius, Archbishop of Irenopolis, Egypt, 38.

Cistercian Abbey, 99.
Clergy, increase of, 250.
Presence and direct influence of, in civil affairs not advisable in America, 197.
Cleveland, President, societies during his administration, 187-188-194.
Clifford, Bishop, 155.
Colonization Society, 275.
Compans, M. Terneaux, Extensive library books on America, 242.
Congregation of rites, 58.
Constantine, Emperor, 16.
Statue of, 102.
Constitution, American, in harmony with Catholic practices, 263.
Constitution of the United States, Fifth Amendment of, 285.
Coronado, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Council of Basel, 170.
Councils of Baltimore, three national, 248.
Council of Baltimore, Third Plenary, 190-192.
Chalcedon, 32.
Chalcedon, Fathers of, 174.
Constance, 170.
Florence, 170-181.
Sixth General, 174.
Cousseau, Rt. Rev. Anthony Charles, Bishop of Augouleme, France, 38.
Creeds, religious, separation of members in civil affairs impossible, 196.
Cullen, Cardinal of Dublin, 144.
Custis, Parke, tribute to Ireland, 267.
DARBOY, Monsignor, Archbishop of Paris, 23.
Davis, Mr. Jefferson, 229.
d'Ayllon, Vasquez, 238.
De Angelis, Cardinal, Chief of the five presiding Cardinals at the Vatican Council, 36.
de Aviles, Don Pedro Menendez, 237.
Dechamps, Victor Augustus Isidore, Cardinal, Archbishop of Malines, 24.
Victor Augustus Isidore, Primate of Belgium, 143.
Victor Augustus Isidore, Short biography of, 164.
de Avila, Francesco, 239.
De Goesbriand, Rt. Rev. Louis, Bishop of Burlington U. S., 38.
Deification of the State, 307.
de la Place, Rt. Rev. Aloysius Gabriel, Bishop of Adrianople, Bulgaria, 38.
de la Ribourde, Gabriel, 240.
Demosthenes, 20.
de Onate, Don Juan, 237.
de Padilla, Juan, Franciscan, 238.
de Portola, Don Gasper, 237.
De Poissen, 238.
de Romani Pontificis Primatu et Infallibilitate, 142-143.
Deshulles, Constantine, 240.
De Soto, 236.
de Tclosa, Diego, 239.
de Velascola, Francesco, 239.
Didius Julianus, 311.
Diocletian, persecution of, 16.
Baths of, 99.
Discoveries, Catholic, 236.

Discovery of the New World, economic effects of, 187.
Divorce, complete, disallowed by Catholic Church, 260.
Decreases where Catholics increase, 261.
Evil threatening the American people, 259.
Statistics of, in different parts of the country, 260.
Dogmatic constitution, *de Fide Catholica*, 140.
de Ecclesia Christi, 143.
Of the Church of Christ, 157.
Dollinger, Dr., Arius of controversy of 1870, 19.
Domenec, Bishop, helped secure neutrality of Spain, 247.
Dongan, Sir Thomas of Cork, Governor of New York, 266.
Donnet, Cardinal of Bordeaux, 144.
Drexel, Miss Katharine, life and fortune to Negro and Indian Missions, 254.
Dupanloup, Monsignor, Archbishop of Orleans, 23.

EASTERN CHRISTIANS in communion with the Holy See, 4.
Egyptian obelisk, 103.
Contains a relic of the True Cross, 103.
Inscription on, 103.
Put in place by Fontana, 107-108.
Election, means of preserving purity of, 316.
England, Bishops from, 46.
Church of, 224.
England, 320.
English Bishops, 44.
English Immigration, Statistics of, 269.
Epicurus, philosophy of, 310.
Episcopalians, 243.
Ethiopia, Church of, 174.
Eugenius IV, 170.
Explorers, Catholic, 236.
Explorers, monuments of the passage of all over the United States, 236.

FAITH, objections to, disproved by time, 90.
Difference between matters of, and discipline, 39.
Father Mathew Society, 262.
Federal Constitution, Protestant ministers claim Catholics in conflict with, 213-215.
With regard to Catholics, 216.
Felix V, 170.
Fitzsimmons, Thomas.
Flynn, Rt. Rev. John, Bishop of Toronto, Canada, 38.
Font, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Foucault, Nicholas, Jesuit, 238.
Founders of Colonies, Catholic, 236.
France, Bishops from, 46.
French Bishops, 43.
Clergy, refuse to receive decrees of the Council of Florence, 171.
Immigration, statistics of, 269.
Prelates, 23.
Revolution, 16.

GAIRDNER, 226.
Gallicanism, cardinal principles of, 171, etc.

Gallicanism, refutation of, 171.
Garces, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Garcia, Juan, 239.
Garnier's Seneca and Cayuga books, 242.
Georgetown College, 251.
German Bishops, 44.
Germany, Bishops from, 46.
German immigration, statistics of, 269.
Gil, Emmanuel Garcia, Archbishop of Saragosia, Spain, 161.
Short biography of, 161, etc.
Guigras, Louis, captured by Indians, 240.
Guizot, Protestant historian and statesman, 223.
Gloria Laus et Honor, processional hymn, 111.
Gnostics, 94.
Good citizenship, 278.
Good Shepherd, Houses of, 256.
Grajales, Mendoza, 239.
Grant, Rt. Rev. Thomas, Bishop of Southwark, England, 38-157.
Greece, Bishops from, 46.

HAGUE, Tribunal of, 226.
Hassaun, Monsignor Patriarch of Cilicia for the Armenians, 162.
A short biography of, 162, etc.
Hebrew people, 318.
Hennepin, Catholic Explorer, 236-237.
Henry VIII, despotism of, 224.
Herodians, 305.
Holland, Bishops from, 46.
Holy Week in Rome, Tuesday, 114.
Holy Week, Wednesday, 114.
Description of service, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 116.
Tennebræ, 114.
Misereres sung, 114.
Blessing of Holy oils, 121.
Mass of the Presanctified, 121.
Easter Sunday, 123.
Solemn High Mass celebrated by the Pope, 126, etc.
Pontifical blessing, 128, etc.
Hughes, Archbishop of New York, helped to secure neutrality of France, 247.
Hungarian Bishops, 44.
Hungarian Catholics in United States, 249.
Hungary and Galicia, Bishops from, 46.

IBERVILLE, 237.
Illyria and Dalmatia, Bishops from, 46.
Improperia, masterpiece of Palestrina, 122.
Indians, Church's work among the, 256.
Catholics, statistics of, 256.
Indian language, books in and on, 242.
Indians, religious liberty not guaranteed by our constitution, 255.
Priests working among, 256.
Infallibility of the Pope, 69-139.
Books published on outside of the Vatican Council, 69-70.
Innocent I, 174.
Innocent X, 171.
Invaders, Spanish, 239.

Immigrants, Catholic Society for protection of, 258.
Irish, 266.
Irish, advice to, 275.
Irish, necessary qualifications of, 276.
Irish, distribution of, 273.
Irish, statistics of, 268-270-271.
Irish, in general, 280.
Irish, by decades, 270.
Ireland, Archbishop, 262.
Settlement of, Cromwellian treatment of, 268.
Irish Bishops, 44-46.
Children kidnapped during 17th century, 267.
Gael, good influence in New World, 266.
People, 265.
Population, decrease of, in Ireland, 270.
Wonderful increase of, race, 270.
Redemptioners in the 18th century, 268.
Traits in American character, 275.
Irishmen in civil service positions, 273.
In French service, 265.
Italian Catholics in the United States, 249.
Italy, Bishop of, 27-43.
Jackson, General, welcomed back by Catholics of New Orleans, 247.
Jacobini, Monsignor, 184.
Jamestown, first Catholic settlement near, 238.
Jansenists, 171.
Jay, John, leads New York politicians, 244.
Jogues, Isaac, Catholic missionary, 240.
Joliet, Louis, 237.

KENRICK, Archbishop, of St. Louis, 22-32-230.
Knights of Labor, Association of, 186-199.
Aggressive elements among, 198.
Canadian Bishops alarmed by, 188.
Condemned for Canada by Holy See, 188.
Consequences which would follow condemnation of, 203, etc.
Holy See could not decide to condemn, 208.
Objections to, 196.
Only two Archbishops for condemnation of, 189.
Outbursts of violence not attributable to, 199.
Not contrary to laws of Church, 193.
President of, devout Catholic, 193.
Reasons for not condemning, 191.
Richmond convention, 193.
Knights of Malta, 133.
Know-Nothing Days, 219.
Kuhn, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Kulturkampf, 10-17.

LABORING classes, Church careful of the rights of, 200.
Labor organizations, ephemeral nature of, 206.
Laouenan, Rt. Rev. Francis John, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry, India, 38.

La Santissima Trinita dei Pellegrini, institution of, 120.
La Salle, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Lavigerie, Most Rev. Charles, Archbishop of Algiers, Africa, 37.
La Verendrye, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, Ireland, 22.
Ledochowski, Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen, imprisoned for two years, 11.
Lee, Thomas Sim, 245.
General, 267.
Le Moyne, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Leo XIII, Cardinal Pecci at the time of the Vatican Council, 27.
Leo XIII, 32-190-222-262.
Lewis, Captain, Canadian regiments, 244.
Liberty, cause of, cause of the Church, 226.
Lincoln, Abraham, 229.
Literature, Catholic, concerning countries now comprising the United States, 241-242.
Lombardy, Bishops from, 46.
London Times, 152.
Low Sunday, 133.
Loyalty of Catholics in American Revolution, 243.
In War of Independence, 243.
Lusk, Major, opposed to Catholics holding office, 217.
Lutheranism, 224.
Lybia, Church of, 174.
Lynch, Dominic, 245.
Lynch Law, excuses for, 290.
Lynch Law in different States, 285.
Remedies for, 294.
Violation of, 285.
Summary executions, 286.
Lynching, a blot on American civilization, 286.
Cases of, 290.
Deplorable result of, 287-289.
Fruitful source of feuds, 287.
Of innocent men, 288.
MAFIA, Secret Society, 292.
Maguire, John, M. P., works of, 275.
Mandatum, or washing of feet, description of, 118, etc.
Manning, Cardinal, Archbishop of Westminster, England, 21-22-188-201-202.
Speech by, 155.
Maranga, Rt. Rev. John, Bishop of Tenos, Greece, 38.
Marius, 310.
Maronite, Bishops, 43.
Maronite Rite, 141.
Marquette, 236.
Martin, Bishop of Paderhorn, 25.
Martinez, Pedro, 239.
Martyrs, Catholic, 239.
Maryland, lower counties of, 295.
Masonic Order forbidden by Church, 196.
Massachusetts gives religious liberty to Catholics, 217.
Masse, Father, 240.
Melchers, Archbishop of Cologne, expelled from his See, 11.
Melchisedeckian, Rt. Rev. Stephen (Armenian), Bishop Erzeroum, Asia, 38.

Menendez, Pedro, 239.
Mermillod, Bishop, 57.
Methodists, 243.
Mexican Bishops, 44.
Middle Ages, 225.
Mighty minds of the past, 95.
Milman, Dean, testimony to the value of the Papacy, 226.
Missionaries, Catholic, 236.
Monopolies, individuals and corporations, 194.
Mosaic ordinances, 284.
McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, 21.
McEvilly, Bishop, 155.
McGee, Thomas D'Arcy, works of, 275.
McGettigan, Rt. Rev. Daniel, Bishop of Raphoe, Ireland, 38.
McHale, Dr., Archbishop, The Lion of the Fold of Juda, 144.

NAPLES, Kingdom of, Bishops from, 46.
Napolean, Emperor III, 16.
National holidays, 318-319.
Nazarian, Most Rev. Melchoir (Armenian), Archbishop of Mardin, Asia, 38.
Negro and Indian Missions, 254.
Negroes, Catholics, statistics of, 255.
Priests working among, 255.
New London, favorite port of Irish immigrants, 267.
New York Freeman's Journal, 275.
Northers, settled largely by Irishmen, 267.
Nice, Council of, compared with Vatican Council, 16, etc.
Dogmatic Decree of, 17.
Different parties in the, 17.
Oriental Bishops present at, 20.
Oriental Bishops, treatment of, at, 20.
Nicolet, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Noble Guard, 110-124-133.
Norway and Sweden, statistics of immigration, 269.

O'SULLIVAN, Daniel, Kerry schoolmaster, 266.

PALLOTTI, ABBATE, 56.
Palms, blessing of, by Pope, 109, etc.
Papacy, embodiment of justice and liberty, 226.
Mediæval, political function and power of, 226.
Papal Choir, 114.
Infallibility, thought a novelty by those who did not understand, 31.
Papp, Szilagyi, Rt. Rev. Joseph (Roumenian), Bishop of Gross-Wardein, 37.
Passion according to St. John, description of, 122.
Passion, method of chanting, 111, etc.
Parliament, 224.
Parochial Schools, 232-253.
Pareya, Father Francis, works in the Indian language, 242.
Party lines, maintenance of, necessary to preserve political purity, 319.

Patrizi, the Most Eminent Constantine, Cardinal, Bishop of Porta and Santa Rufina, 136-143.

Paternalism, forces tend to, 230.

Patrictism, 298-299-300.

Inculcated by St. Paul, 301.
Catholic Church, 302.
Our Lord, 305.
The Apostles, 306.

And cosmopolitanism not incompatible, 307.

Roman, 301.

Pelagian Heresy, 174.

Pelagius, 174.

Penal Laws in England, 16.

Pennsylvania, settled largely by Irishmen, 267.

Peruvian Bishops, 44.

Petrus per os Leonis, per of Agathonis Locutus est, 174.

Philadelphia Standard and Times, 275.

Pie, Louis Francis Desire Edward, Bishop of Poitiers, 160.

Short biography of, 160, etc.

Pierrot, 237.

Pious Society of Missions, 56.

Pius VII, 104.

Pius IX, daily life of, 51-52-222-228.

Preaches at American College, 60-61-62.

Pluym, Rt. Rev. Joseph, of Nicopolis, Bulgaria, 38.

Poirier, Rt. Rev. Charles, Bishop of Roseau, West Indies, 39.

Pompey and Crassus, 310.

Ponce de Leon, 236.

Pontifical Zouaves, 124.

Popes, infallible only in Divine doctrine, universal belief, 224.

Pouderly, Mr., President of Knights of Labor, 188-193.

Priests, Catholic, with Columbus, 238.

Cabot, 238.

Ponce de Leon, 238.

Prendergast, Mr. John, 267.

Prince of Darkness, dangerous power of, 201.

Propaganda, Sacred congregation of, 186-191.

Prosper of Aquitaine, Christian poet, 174.

Protestants, apathy of, in controversy with Catholics, 214.

Frequently elected by Catholic constituencies, 218.

Protestant ministers, two synods of, 213.

Proposals made by, deserve the strongest reprobation, 215.

Opposed to Catholic Church, represent no large section of public opinion, 214.

Claim Catholic religion opposed to American liberties, 213.

Providence, Divine ways of, 200.

Public conscience, 316.

Pueri Hebraeorum, sung by choir, 109.

QUAKERS, 243.

Quentin, Father, 240.

Quin, Rt. Rev. James, Bishop of Brisbane, Australia, 38.

RÂLE, FATHER, 240.
Râle's Abnaki Dictionary, 242.
Rauscher, Cardinal of Vienna, 144.
Reading circles in most parishes, 254.
Reformation, economic effects of, 187.
Reformers, Protestant, 227.
Reject authority of Church, 224.
Religious Intolerance, 219.
Regiments, British, largely composed of Irishmen, 267.
Republic, dangers of our, 309.
Rerum Novarum, 190.
Reymbault, Charles, 240.
Rhodes, 20.
Ridel, Monsignor, Vicar Apostolic in Corea, Barely escaped Martyrdom, 12.
Robertson, British General 267.
Roman Exposition of Arts, 71.
Empire, 311.
Republic, 309-311-319.
Christianity spirit of, 104.
Holy Week in, 96.
Roosevelt, President, Letter to J. C. Martin, 214.
Roosevelt, President, 218-234.
Ryan, Archbishop, on treatment of Negroes and Indians, 254.

SABINE and Alban Mountains, 98.
Sagard's Wyandot Dictionary (Indian), 242.
San Andrea della Valle, Church of, 56.
Santa Croce, Church of, 98.
Saragossa, Archbishop of, 144.
Sardinia, Kingdom of, Bishops from, 46.
Sauville, Catholic Explorer, 237.
Schema or Debate on Little Catechism, 140-141-142.
Schism, ever results in subjection of the Church to civil authority, 225.
Schwarzenberg, Cardinal Prince, Primate of Bohemia, 22-25.
Archbishop of Prague, Bohemia, 144.
Scotland, Bishops from, 46.
Statistics of Immigration, 269.
Scythia, Church of, 174.
Senat, Antonius, 238.
Servius Tullius, Fifth King of Rome, 99.
Shakespeare's plays, 297.
Sibour, Archbishop of Paris at one time, 23.
Sicily and Malta, Bishops from, 46.
Simeoni, Cardinal, Prefect of Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, 190.
Simon, 101.
Simor, John Baptist, Cardinal Archbishop of Strigonium, and Primate of Hungary, 25.
A short biography of, 166, etc.
Sisters of Charity, loyalty to country, 246.
Sistine Chapel, called Chapel of Pope, 106.
Sixtus V, Pope, 108.
Social evils, 194.
Society, state of, in 70's and 80's, 187.

Solemn Pontifical Blessing as given on Maundy Thursday, 117, etc.
Sovereign Pontiff, address by, 138.
Center of unity of the Church, 19.
Doctor and Teacher of all Christians, 19.
Personal simplicity and self-denial of, 49.
Sovereign Pontiff, 170.
Spaccapietra, Most Rev. Vincent, Archbishop of Smyrna, Asia, 37.
Spain, Bishops of, 27.
Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, 2-22-275.
Spanish Bishops, 44.
St. Agnes, Basilica of, 98.
St. Ange, Catholic Explorer, 237.
St. Anthanasius, 18.
St. Denys, Catholic Explorer, 237.
St. Francis de Sales, 58.
St. John Lateran's Church, 98.
St. Lawrence, Basilica of, 98.
St. Mary of the Angels, Church of, 99.
St. Mary Majors, Church of, 98.
St. Paul's without walls, 97.
St. Paul, burial place of the great Apostle, 97.
Body still venerated there, 97.
Gigantic statue of, 97.
St. Peter, line of successors of, 102.
St. Peter's Church, 2-98.
Description of, 99, etc.
Illumination of, 132.
St. Vincent de Paul, Society of, 257.
State, no right to command in religious matters, 231.
Standish, Miles, 266.
Strabo, Walafrid, 265.
Strosmayer, Monsignor, Bishop of Bosnia, reputed the most eloquent of the Vatican Council, 26.
Sunday, day of rest, Divine institution of, 261.
No violation of, 277.
Observance of, decreed by Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 262.
Supernatural order, Catholic Church authorized representative and exponent of, 258.
Supremacy of the Pope, 172.
Swiss Guard, 110-124-133.

TAFT, Mr., 233.
Talleyrand, Prince, 24.
Tarquini, Cardinal, doctrine of civil allegiance, 223.
Tonti, 237.
Total Abstinence Society, 262.
Trade Unions, 188.
Tradition of the Church, means of ascertaining in Œcumenical Councils, 39-40.
Tuscany and Modena, Bishops from, 46.
Twilight zone, 230.

UBI Petrus, ibi ecclesia, 170.
United States and Colonies, 235.
Government of, 308.
Presidents of, confidence in Catholics, 218.
University extension, 253.

VATICAN COUNCIL, American Bishops, manner of life in Rome, 55.
American College, 2.
Armenian Patriarch and Bishops, manner of life in Rome, 54-55.
Armenian rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Average age of Bishops present at, 8.
Bishops, private life of, 53.
Bishops who opposed the, Decree, 31.
Blind Bishops present at, 8.
Cardinals, private life of, 52-53.
Careful explanation of the Decree and the removal of all objections, 20.
Catholic Bishops of Christendom, number of, in 1870, 3.
Chaldean Patriarch and Bishops, manner of life in Rome, 53-54.
Chaldean Rite, Bishops present at, 10.
Comparison with U. S. Congress, 149.
Coptic Rite, Bishops present at, 1.
Earnest attempt to combine perfect freedom of discussion with celerity in despatching business, 45.
English-speaking Fathers who addressed the Council, 149.
Errors condemned by, 83-84.
Different phases of, English, 84-85.
French, 85.
German, 86.
Vatican Council, denials of, revelation condemned, 89.
Evidence of the growth of the English language, 5.
Fourth public session of, July 18th, 183.
Freedom of Council, accusations against liberty of, 180.
Freedom of debate a sacred right in Council, 45.
Frequency of sermons in various languages, 55.
General congregations, 43.
Greek-Bulgarian, Bishops present at, 48.
Greek Melchite Rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Greek Rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Ruthenian Rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Infallibility of the Pope, two months' debate on, 14.
Interference with by European governments, 20.
Interference by European governments announced by leading newspapers, 75.
Latininity of American, English and Irish Prelates, 148.
Latin Rite, Bishops present at, 48.
Different methods of pronunciation among the Fathers at, 7-145.
Liturgical language of the West, 6.
Official language of, 6.
Tongue, necessity of the use of, 7.

Vatican Council, liberty of discussion pledged by the Holy Father, 13.
Made no addition to the Faith, 41.
Maronite Rite, Bishops present at, 4.
Matters of discipline seriously considered, 43.
Not unalterable, 41-42.
New rules of debate at, description of, 66 to 69.
Newspaper reports during, 73.
Number of Bishops in attendance at, 3.
Number of Bishops from Africa at, 3.
Asia at, 3.
Europe at, 3.
North and South America at, 3.
Oceania at, 3.
Number of English-speaking Bishops present, compared with those of Council of Trent, 5.
Oldest Bishop attending, 85-150.
Oriental Catholics, peculiar rites and ceremonies, 3.
Oriental Rites, subdivisions, 4.
Oriental schismatics not represented at, although invited by Pius IX, 3.
Pamphlets written for and against, 74.
Papal Infallibility, causes of difference of opinions among the Bishops, 177.
Papal Infallibility, explanation of Dogma, 169, etc.
Main points held by Ultramontanes, 177-178.
Vatican Council, opposition, different opinions of, 177-178.
Votes of Fathers on questions of, 183.
Patriarchs and Bishops of the East, 3.
Reasons for opposition, 31.
Russia not represented by Diocesan Bishop, 3.
Same year as Franco-Prussian War, 28.
Schema on matters of Faith, 78.
Manner of discussion upon, 78-79.
Manner of voting on, 80, etc.
Speeches of Bishops taken down by stenographers, 36.
Syrian Rite, Bishops present at, 7.
Third public session of, 133, etc.
Varied learning of the Fathers at, 9.
Veiled threats of, 20.
Veiled threats announced by newspapers, 75.
Youngest Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina, 35-150.
Valenziani, Monsignor, Bishop of Fabriano and Matelica, 135.
Valerga, Most Rev. Joseph, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 38.
Vatican, description of, 49, etc.
Venice, Bishops from, 46.
Verplank, 267.
Victor Emanuel, Bishops from territory seized by, 47-48.
Vincennes, 237.

von Ketteler, Baron, Bishop of Mayence, 24-140.
Votes, purchase of, 314.
Voting, privileges of not an inherent right, 314.
Solemn and sacred trust, 314.

WASHBURNE, Mr., Minister to France in 1871, 23.
War of 1812, 247.
Washington's aids, Catholics among, 244.
Washington, election of, to the Presidency, 248.
Washington's testimony to loyalty of Catholics, 245.
Opinions on religion and morality, 252.
White, Father, book on Maryland language, 242.
Whites, vices of principal obstacles to conversion of Indians, 240.
Wierzchleyski, Monsignor, Archbishop of Leopoli in Galician Poland, 140.
Winsor, Justin, Catholic historian, 241.
Wright, Carroll D., 260.
Writers, Catholic, 236.

ZOSIMUS, 174.
Zwingli, 224.

YOUNG, Dr. Edward, United States Bureau of Statistics, 268.

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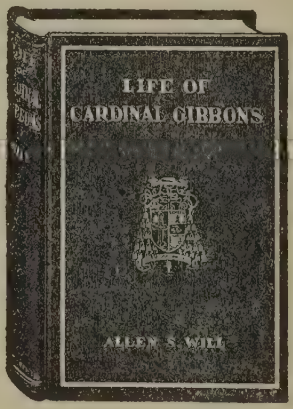

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